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Comparative Studies in the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta and its Chinese Versions

IVF. Sh.XII-10.p.25a.L.18—p.25b.L.19.

Now, the Blessed One left Ambapālī's place and proceeded to the Elephant village, Ambala village, Jambu village and finally reached Shan-kia city (for P'u-kia (?)=Bhoganagara). There he preached to his disciples the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Sufferings, the Eightfold Noble Path and also the Four Decision Sayings (four references).

It is quite obvious that this text is somewhat peculiar as compared with other translations, especially with the P.T. For during the journey from Ambapālī's garden in Vesālī to Bhoganagara, there were so many events that had happened to the Buddha.

The four references here roughly agree with the P.T., but differ in details, e.g., Praise him if the person's words are in accordance with the Dharma, Sūtra and Vinaya; otherwise, do not listen to what he says. Whereas in the P. T., it tells us that when one sees certain Bhikkhu speaking of what he has heard from such and such persons, to him one should neither be joyous or scornful, but should compare his statement with the Tripiṭaka and then decide whether his words are right or wrong.

XX THE BUDDHA VISITS CUNDA

D. xvi. 4. 13-20.

The meal of Cunda is said to have caused the death of the Buddha. Besides the particular article called "Sūkara-maddava" which was offered to the Blessed One by him has been widely discussed and interpreted in various ways. T. W. Rhys Davids calls it 'dry boar's meat'¹, and others consider it 'a kind of vegetable fungus'². I have personally studied this matter very carefully and have written a separate article on this subject.³ It is indeed a very important and interesting inquiry which concerns the question of the Buddha's death.

1 Buddhist Suttas. S.B.E., vol. xi. p. 71.

2 See *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, I. 1932. p. 346.

3 See Fachow's "Sūkara-maddava and the Buddha's death." Silver Jubilee Volume. A.B.O.R.I., Poona. 1942. pp. 127-133.

Nanjio No. 1121, fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 78—79., states that when the Buddha and the Bhikkhu-saṅgha were taking their meal in Cunda's house, among them there was an untrained Bhikkhu who stole a brass cup and kept it under his armpit. By means of the Buddha's super-natural power, other people did not see it, but only Cunda was aware of the Bhikkhu's action.

Cunda asked the question about the four kinds of Bikkhus and there was no mention of 'sūkara-maddava'.

I P. Sh. XII-10, p. 15b. L. 7—19.

The Lord left Fu-yen city (Bhūmi or Bhoganagara) for Pāvā and stopped in the Jata (Dha-ta) garden. Amongst the people there, there was a certain person Cunda by name, who invited the Blessed One to dine at his house. Neither 'sūkara-maddava' nor any name of dishes is mentioned here. However, there was an incident a bad tempered Bhikkhu purposely broke a drinking cup. The Buddha knew it and Cunda also saw it. When the Blessed One finished his meal Cunda asked him how many kinds of Bhikkhus were in the Saṅgha. 'Four kinds'; the latter replied, i.e.,

1. Who acts according to the religious teachings excellently.
2. Who understands and expounds the teachings well.
3. Who depends on religion for his livelihood.
4. Who commits evil actions and is the sore of the Saṅgha.

At the end the Buddha spoke to Cunda that his offering to the Blessed One would be the cause for his taking birth in heaven when his life and wisdom had fully ripened and matured in this world.

II B. Sh. XII-9 p. 15a. L. 20—p. 15b. L. 16.

The Blessed One left Bhūmi city for Pāvā via Malla and stayed in the Jata garden.

1 The Cunda-sutta in Uragavagga of the Sutta-Nipāta has the same reply to Cunda's question.

No mentioning of 'Sūkara-maddava.'

The incident which happened at his house while the Buddha and his disciples were eating was that an untrained Bhikkhu stole a gold vessel and put it in his bag.

See S.B.E., vol. x. the English translation of Sutta-Nipāta.

For 'sūkara-maddava', this text has given 'fungus of a sandal-wood tree'¹.

When the dinner was over, Cunda asked him how many kinds of Bhikkhus were in the Saṅgha. The Blessed One replied in a Gāthā. The number is the same as we have seen in XX IP. of this paper. However, this Gāthā was in connection with an old Bhikkhu who against the Buddha's wish ate the 'sandal-wood fungus' which was meant for the Tathāgata only.

No equivalent passages of D. xvi. 4. 19—23, here.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 41a. L. 10—p. 41b. L. 4.

When the Tathāgata reached Pāvā and stayed in the Jata garden, the Mallas (Hua-flower) there approached him and he preached to them four kinds of ethical teachings.

Cunda was one of the Mallas who invited the Buddha for meal at his residence. Here, we do not find the word 'sūkara-maddava' or other equivalent.

The details of four kinds of Bhikkhus are the same as the previous two texts of Ch. XX. of this paper.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 25b. L. 19—p. 27a, L. 6.

Before his arrival at Pāvā, the Tathāgata went to Kusa village and preached the four ethical teachings (cf. XX. III N.) to a Brāhmaṇa Fo-po-u-ti (Buddhabhūti?) by name. Later on, he invited the Tathāgata to a meal.

This paragraph is not found in the P. T.

Here begins the second part of this Sūtra.

(p. 26b. L. 9—p. 27a. L. 6.)—Cunda learnt that the Buddha was going to attain Nirvāṇa, he felt deeply moved and implored him to elongate his stay in this world. He offered dinner to the Lord, but there was no mention of any particular dish. The Tathāgata blessed him and said that he had done the most meritorious deed by offering the Buddha his last meal, and a Gāthā was uttered by him on the same account.

1 See Fachow's "Sūkara-maddava and the Buddha's death," Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Silver Jubilee Volume, 1942. pp. 127-133.

XXI. TURBID WATERS FLOW CLEAR.

D. xvi. 4. 21-25.

The Pāli text relates that it was due to the supernatural power of the Tathāgata that the turbid waters became clear. But in some of the Chinese translations it has given us a different picture.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 78-79., there is no description of 'Turbid waters flow clear', but it simply says that the waters were muddy, therefore the Buddha used it for washing only.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 16a. L. 3-6.

Here begins the second part of this Sūtra.

While leaving Cunda's place for Kusinārā, the Buddha fell sick and stopped on the way. He sent Ānanda to fetch water from the Kakutthā (Ku-tuei) River for the purpose of drinking and washing. Ānanda went and brought for him turbid water, which was so because 500 carts had just crossed over that stream. The Lord washed his face with it and felt better.

The miracle of turbid waters flow clear; the unwillingness of Ānanda to bring that muddy water and his folding the clothes for the Blessed One to lie on, as we see in the P. T., are not found here.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 16a. L. 65.

No mention of the turbid waters flowing clear; but it simply states that the Tathāgata felt back-ache and asked Ānanda to prepare a seat for him.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 41. L. 8-10.

Here begins the second fascicule of this translation.

Ku-yi for Kakutthā River.

The description of Ānanda bringing turbid water from the above mentioned river is the same as that of Ch. XXI. IP.

There is no mention of 'water miracle' and conversation between the Lord and Ānanda here, as it is stated in the P. T.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 27a. L. 6-12.

On the way to Kusinārā, the Tathāgata was attacked by stomach-ache and acute dysentery, so he stopped on the way. The remaining portion closely agrees with the P. T.

This is the only text which corresponds to the Pāli text in the present connection.

XXII. PUKKUSA, THE MALLA AND HIS OFFERINGS.

D. xvi. 4. 26-28.

Pukkusa thought that the meditative power of his teacher Aḷāra Kālāma was really very great. But the Blessed One made him understand that his was much greater and more profound. Later on, the former became his disciple and offered him a pair of golden coloured cloths. While putting on that cloth, the Blessed One was transfigured.¹

Nanjio No 1121. fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2. p. 79a., writes that when the Tathāgata put on the golden coloured cloth himself, the illumination of his body darkened the glittering colour of the former. Ānanda was wonder-struck and asked for the reason of it. The Buddha gave him two causes, firstly because he would die that very night, and secondly at the moment of death he would attain Anuttara-sammā-Sambodhi.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 16a. L. 6-18.

‘Pao-mien’ for Pukkusa.

It is alleged that Pukkusa was a minister of the country of Mallas (Hua She or Flower Community). Having heard the Tathāgata’s teaching, he was tearful. The Buddha asked the reason of it, he related that he had heard Lo-kia-yen’s (Aḷāra Kālāma) preaching on (the story of his deep meditation which even the sound of 500 carts cannot disturb) and used to shed tears.

The remaining portion [e. g.,—the degree of the Buddha’s deep meditation; Pukkusa offered a piece (not two) of golden coloured cloth; while putting on that cloth, his face was brightened in colour like gold; and the two occasions² of having that colour with the Blessed One,] is closely corresponding to the P. T., though here and there, the wordings differ.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 16a. L. 6-p. 16b. L. 10.

‘Fu-Kuei’ for Pukkusa and ‘A-nan-han’ for Aḷāra Kālāma.

Before Pukkusa’s approach, he saw the serene appearance of the Tathāgata. He thought that it was just like the still surface of a deep tank. He went to him and related the story of his teacher Aḷāra Kālāma.

The remaining portion up to the accepting of his cloth is the same as in the P. T. But after that, it differs greatly. It goes on to tell us

1 See S.B.E., vol. xi, pp. 75-82.

2 See D. xvi. 4. 26-38.

that the Lord Buddha preached to him a good deal, including the Śāstras such as: The Dāna Śāstra, Vinaya Śāstra, Svarga-Janma Śāstra and so forth. He was enlightened by the doctrine and asked the Blessed One to accept him as a Upāsaka, and requested him to dine at his house if he would go to the city of Pāvā.

When the Blessed One's face became golden coloured by putting on Pukkusa's cloth, Ānanda said that he had the opportunity to attend the Tathāgata for the last 25 years, but he had never seen such colour on his face. Then the Lord told Ānanda the two occasions for the appearing of colours as such.

The last portion again agrees with the P. T.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 41b. L. 10-p. 42a. L. 7.

'Fu-kie' for Pukkusa and 'Li-lan' for Aḷāra Kālāma.

The story of the meditation of the Blessed One differs slightly from the P. T. Here Pukkusa uttered a verse to praise the Buddha and the latter replied him with a Gāthā.

Here the text does not mention the number of cloths which was offered by Pukkusa.

For the Buddha's face becoming golden coloured, see the last portion of XXII. II B. of this paper.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 27a. L. 12—p. 28a. L. 4.

The proper names such as Pukkusa, the Malla (Fu-ka-sa, son of the sage Man-lo), and Aḷāra Kālāma (Ka-lan) are near to the original pronunciation. However, the whole description of the profoundness of the Blessed One's meditation, the events which had happened in connection with Pukkusa's gift and his entering into the first stage of Buddhist disciples (Upāsaka) of the Tathāgata, are enlarged narrations and there is no similarity to the P. T., or any approximate correspondence to other Chinese translations. e.g.,—

1. The deepness of the Buddha's meditation has been repeated twice to Pukkusa.

2. The number of carts which passed by Aḷāra Kālāma is 50 only.

3. Having offered the golden coloured cloths, Pukkusa became a Bhikku and immediately after that he attained Arahatsip.

4. The Blessed One issued forth various kinds of colourful rays from his face, e.g., blue, yellow, red, white and so forth. However these colours had nothing to do with the golden coloured cloth which was offered by Pukkusa.

Moreover, this text has an unusual size as compared with other translations in Chinese. We suspect that it has been inserted in or enlarged by some one at a later date. Perhaps it is not the first recorded text.

XXIII. THE LAST JOURNEY AND THE MERIT OF CUNDA'S MEAL.

D. xvi. 4. 39—42.

The Tathāgata wished to make it clear that his death was not caused by Cunda's meal. On the contrary his offering which was his (the Buddha's) last meal had gained much merit on that account.

Now, he was proceeding towards Kusinārā and showed signs of great exhaustion and weariness.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2. p. 79b., the narration is the same as that of the P. T., but at the end, there is no verse uttered by the Buddha.

Here ends the fourth chapter of the Pāli text.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 16a, L. 19—p. 16b. L. 1.

This text states that—"The Buddha bathed himself in the Hirañṇavati River and was accompanied by Ānanda"; whereas in the P. T., it is Kakutthā River, and Cundaka was with him who folded the cloths for him to lie on.

There is no Gāthā here preceding the passage in which the Blessed One asks Ānanda to inform Cunda that he should be happy, because his meal had made him obtain five kinds of merit.

The Gāthā in the P. T. referring to the Blessed One's bath and exhaustion was certainly uttered by a Buddhist Elder (Thera) at a perhaps much later date, when the text was recorded.¹

The allegation of telling others the merit of Cunda's meal is very briefly stated here. The description in the P. T. is comparatively longer and more detailed.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 16b. L. 11—p. 17a. L. 4.

Ānanda was ordered by the Buddha to fetch water for his drinking purpose, but he did not go. Finally the spirits who lived in the Cloud-Mountain brought him eight kinds of purified waters. He drank them and uttered a Gāthā to praise them.

¹ See D. xvi. 4. 42.

There is no mention of the merit about Cunda's meal here.
This shows that the allegations here are different from the P.T.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 42a. L. 7—12.

For 'Kakutthā River' it has given 'Hiraññavati River' here.

Here, it does not mention that the Blessed One asked Cundaka to fold clothes for him to lie on. Therefore, there is no Gāthā, as we find it in the Pāli text.

The two great beneficial occasions for offering meals to the Tathāgata, and the merit of Cunda's meal have been treated here in a slightly different form from those of the P. T. The P. T. has given the reason why the Buddha had made such statement—this was because he feared that people might blame Cunda for his meal. In order to prevent storms of resentment falling on the shoulders of poor Cunda, he spoke good of him and his offerings. Reasons as such, we find none here.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 28a. L. 4-13.

The passage here is more closely agreeing with the P. T. than other translations which we have dealt with so far, though there are differences. It says that the Lord Buddha having taken bath in the Kakutthā River, seated himself on the bank near by. At that time, Cunda was greatly worried because he feared that his meal might have caused severe pain to the Lord who was going to attain Nirvāṇa that very night. So he told him his merit and uttered a verse which corresponds to the P. T.

There is no mention of his asking Cundaka to fold clothes for him. And the wordings here slightly differ from the P. T.

XXIV. SPIRITS WATCHING THE BUDDHA.

D. xvi. 5. 1-7.

When the Tathāgata reached the Sāla grove at Kusinārā and lied down between the Twin Sāla Trees, a shower of heavenly flowers fell upon him. Meanwhile he asked Bhikkhu Upavāṇa, who had served him for a very long time to go away and leave him alone. When it was questioned by Ānanda, he said that because Bhikkhu Upavāṇa had obstructed his view and it was very difficult for the spirits who crowded in the sky to see him and pay him their homage for the last time.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 79-80., there is no mention about the 'spirits watching the Buddha' nor the heavenly flowers fall down from Heavens.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 16b. L. 13-19.

(In XII-10. p. 16b. L. 1-13., it deals with how Bhikkhu Channa should be treated after the Buddha's death. And there was another Bhikkhu, Kapphina (Kie-pin) by name who wanted to put some questions to the Buddha.....)

There is no description of the showering of flowers from the sky.

'Wu-ho-pan' for 'Upavāṇa'.

Here, the text does not give the description of the spirits in Heaven and on Earth, including those who are free from desires, when they saw that the Blessed One was going to attain Nirvāṇa, they expressed their feelings in different manners. But we find a clear allegation in the P. T.

Furthermore, at the end of this passage, it has given emphasis on the impermanent nature of things.

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 17b. L. 9. p. 18a. L. 1.

(In Sh. XII-9. p. 17a. L. 5-p. 17b. L. 9., it deals with :—

1. In what manner the funeral pyre of the Tathāgata should be made.
2. Four kinds of Stūpas should be respected.
3. A Brāhmaṇa from Kūsinārā on his way to Pāvā implored the Buddha to stop at his house for the night.....)

The reason of the Blessed One's head being towards the North when he was lying between the Twin Sāla Trees is stated here to be that his religion would prevail and last for a longer time in that direction.

Having seen the flowers blooming untimely on the trees and showering upon him as a symbol of respect, the Buddha uttered a Gāthā. From its context we find that this Gāthā is not spoken by him but by some one who recorded this Sūtra.

'Fan-ma-la' for 'Upavāṇa'.

By his meritorious deeds in the past 91 Kalpas, Bhikkhu Upavāṇa had the power of virtue to hinder the views of the Gods who had crowded in the sky and were unable to see the Buddha, so, the Blessed One asked him to go away.

No particular description is given as to how the Gods mourned for the passing away of the Buddha.¹

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 42b. L. 6—8. and p. 43a. L. 1—4.

(In Sh. XII-10. p. 42a. L. 12—p. 42b. L. 5., it deals with how Bhikkhu Channa should be punished and the expounding of seven Bojjhaṅgas. Having heard his explanation, a Bhikkhu uttered a Gāthā to encourage others to follow the teachings of the Lord.

And in Sh. XII-10. p. 42b. L. 8—p. 43a. L. 1., it deals with the four qualities and other virtues of Ānanda²).

Having arranged the bed between the Twin Sāla Trees for the Buddha, Ānanda could not help weeping and sobbing on the thought that his Great Master was to expire soon. He also felt sorry for his brethren who were far away and would be unable to meet the Buddha again.

Here it does not mention the showering of the divine flowers.

Bhikkhu 'Hua' for Bhikkhu 'Upavāṇa'.

It is stated here that Bhikkhu Upavāṇa without getting the permission of the Blessed One, or Ānanda, went straightway to his (the Buddha's) front to see him (The P.T. says that he was fanning the Buddha). The Tathāgata therefore asked him to go somewhere else. However his power of virtue could hinder the visions of the Gods from seeing the Buddha.

No detailed description about the mourning of the different classes of Gods.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 28a. L. 13—p. 28b. L. 13.

This passage closely agrees with the P. T., though there are slight differences in wordings and other details.³ e.g.,

The Pāli Text.

1. 12 yojanas
2. Upavāṇa was fanning the Buddha.

3. There are three different kinds of attitude and manners of the Spirits towards the death of the Buddha.

The Translation.

1. 32 yojanas.
2. Upavāṇa was simply standing in front of the Lord. He formerly used to serve him, but it was long long ago, even before Ānanda had become his attendant.

3. All the Spirits were weeping bitterly and showed other expressions of sorrow to their greatest extent.

1 Cf. D. xvi. 5. 6.

2 Cf. D. xvi. 5. 16.

3 Cf. D. xvi. 5. 1-7.

Methinks, perhaps this text was translated from the same original source as that of the present Pāli Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta.

XXV. FOUR PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE AND MINOR INSTRUCTIONS

D. xvi. 5. 8—12.

The places which the Buddhist disciples should visit are :—

1. The place of the Buddha's birth. 2. Where he attained his enlightenment. 3. Where he started his preaching and 4. Where he attained his Nirvāṇa.

The minor instructions consist of three different headings :—

1. On seeing women what attitude should the disciples take.
2. How should the body of the Buddha be cremated.
3. On memorial mounds.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 16b. L. 19—p. 17a. L. 2.

The four places of pilgrimage, the attitude towards women, and the building up of memorial mounds are not found here.

The number of layers of cloth and cotton for wrapping the Tathāgata's body is not as many as in the P.T. Here it says that there are only '10 pieces of cotton (Kapāsa)', I suspect that the number '10' is a mistake for '1000', because the characters '10' and '1000' in the Chinese language are merely a difference of one stroke.

The Pāli words—'Ayaśāya doṇiyā' and 'Ayaśāya tela-doṇiyā', we find no equivalent translation here. It simply says :—'having soaked the cloths and cotton with oil and put his body in the artificial coffin'. Further it alleges that that should be cremated with all kinds of scented wood. A list of wood has been given here,

II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 17a. L. 5—18.

The four places of pilgrimage, and the attitude of Bhikkhus towards women are not found here. But the former appeared in II B. Sh. XII-9. p. 21b. L. 9—13., and the latter appeared in the same page L.16—17., whereas in the P.T., both of these itemś have appeared in Ch. XXIX. of this paper.

This translation gives us another way of cremating the Buddha's body. It says that having bathed the Buddha's body in the scented water, and wrapped it with 1000 pieces of cloth of Kapāsa, it should be laid in the oiled gold coffin, and then, put into another iron coffin,

and again the iron coffin should be put into another sandal-wood coffin. These being done, cremate it with all kinds of scented wood.

After the instruction as to how to cremate his body, there was a Gāthā uttered by him which we cannot find in the P.T.

Another instruction about building memorial mounds for four kinds of saintly persons, is very simply described here.

The Pāli lines :—

‘Katamañ c’ Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭica Tathāgato Arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho (Pacceka sambuddho, Tathāgata-sāvaka, Rājā cakkavattī) thupāraha? “Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa thup” ti Ānanda bahujaṇo cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kayassa bhedaṃ paramaṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggam lokam uppajjanti.....’¹

are not found in this translation. It has got a Gāthā at the end of both the instructions.

III N Sh. XII-10.

All the minor instructions and four places of pilgrimage are not found in this translation.

IV F. Sh. XII-10. p. 28b. L. 13—p. 29a. L. 16.

The names of the four places for pilgrimage have been mentioned thus :

1. His birth-place :—Lumbini, Kapilavatthu.
2. The place of attaining Enlightenment :—Magadha.
3. The place where he first preached his doctrine :—Migadāva (Sarnāth), Vārāṇasī.
4. The place where he died :—Kusinārā.

The attitude towards women after his death is expressed in the same manner as the P. T., but the wordings differ.

Regarding the coffins being used, it alleges that first the Buddha’s body should be laid in the gold coffin, then it should be covered in a silver one, then, a brass one and lastly, an iron coffin which shall contain all the previous ones. Furthermore it goes on to describe how a well-decorated chariot should carry that coffin to the cremation ground, how the ground should be decorated and how his relics should be reserved and worshipped and so forth.

On building up memorial mounds for the Tathāgatas, Pacceka-

¹ See D. xvi. 5. 12.

Buddhas, Sāvakas and Cakkavattīs, here the translation has given many euphemistic expressions of each of them, though it is not so with the P. T. Moreover, the Pāli quotations in XXV. II B. are also not found here.

On the whole, this text seems to be an enlarged one from the original sources, although we are not in a position to say whether it is done by the original editors or the translator.

XXVI. THE BUDDHA PRAISES ĀNANDA AND HIS FOUR QUALITIES.

D. xvi. 5. 13-16.

It seems quite natural that Ānanda had served the Blessed One for more than 25 years, now at the thought of the latter's death, how could he help not weeping bitterly? Moreover, he had not attained any higher stage of Sainthood, but he was a mere learner (Sāvaka). On the part of the Buddha, though he preached constantly the impermanence of everything, yet in the words in which he praised Ānanda we find a subtle tinge of deep relationship between the master and the disciple. In that, as it were, he ought to have lived longer, simply for the sake of his disciples, especially for Ānanda.

The four qualities of Ānanda, are not so wonderful as we usually think. When you give a lecture to your audience, if they are not pleased with it, what else on earth can you do, except keeping silent? Therefore, qualities as such, we may not call extraordinary.¹

The allegation about the four qualities of Ānanda in Nanjio No. 1121, fasc. 37. Sh. XVI-2. p. 80. is not so clear as that in the Pāli text.

1P. Sh. XII-10. p. 17a. L. 2-14.

Here Ānanda wept leaning his head against the bed (Pāli: against the lintel of a door in the Vihāra), and was sorry for the Bhikkhus who were absent and would not be able to see the Buddha again (he did not weep for his own sake). When the Buddha learnt what he was crying for, he comforted him and said that he had served him nicely. He was wise enough to know the proper time for various persons to interview with the Buddha, and whatever he did for him, it agreed with him entirely and pleased him. Besides, he had also informed the Buddha about persons who were faithful disciples and who were not, just according to the fact he gathered.

1 See D. xvi. 5. 16.

The four qualities of a Cakkavattī means that when he instructs the Kings, Brāhmaṇas, householders, and common people on different topics, e. g., how the Kings should rule their kingdoms, the Brāhmaṇas should live a pure life and so forth, then all of them were pleased with him.

In speaking of the virtues of the Cakkavattī, the Blessed One wished to lift Ānanda as high as the former. However the four qualities of Ānanda stated here is quite different from the P.T. and the simile is not well suited.

These are his four qualities :

1. Ānanda expounds the Sūtras and Vinaya extensively when the lay-disciples come to enquire about their meanings.
2. He destroys doubts and explains the meanings to four kinds of Buddhist disciples who are ignorant.
3. Whenever he attends the Buddha on the left side, he often chants.
4. Whatever the Blessed One spoke of, he remembers them well and repeats them exactly to other disciples.¹

II B. Sh. XII-9.

The qualities of Ānanda and the Blessed One's praise are not found here. But in IIB. XII-9. p. 21a. L. 16—p. 21b. L. 9. they appear after the passage in which we are told that Subhadda had become the Buddha's disciple. According to the P.T., they should not be put in Ch. XXIX. of this paper.

The content is roughly corresponding to the Pāli text.

III N. Sh. XII-10. p. 42b. L. 7—p. 43a. L. 1.

There is no mention about where Ānanda stood and wept.

Having told that the mind, speech, and actions of Ānanda are pure, the P.T. goes on to relate :

“Katapuñño ‘si tvam Ānanda. Padhānam anuyuñja khippam hohisi anāsavo’ ti”.

but these Pāli words are not found here.

The narrative of this text presents Ānanda as the best attendant of the Tathāgatas in the past and in the future. But this differs slightly from the Pāli text. In stating the four qualities of a

1 It is said that he is the best learner of the teachings of the Blessed One.

Cakkavattī, it simply says that when he preached religious teachings to the 1. Rulers, 2. Brāhmaṇas, 3. Householders and 4. Heretics, all of them were pleased with his instructions and would practise them seriously.

The four qualities of Ānanda here also are stated differently :

1. Whenever the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upāsakas and Upāsikās go to Ānanda, he is very glad to preach to them. He makes them happy and understand what he explained.

2. When he is preaching, his mind is well concentrated and the appropriate words are used.

3. When the four kinds of Buddhist disciples come to ask him the meaning of the Doctrine and Vinaya, he expounds to them clearly till they understand everything.

For the last one of his four qualities, see XXVI. IP. (4).

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 29a. L. 16-p. 29b. L. 12.

Ānanda wept leaning his hand against the branch of a tree.

Ānanda was the bridge for various kinds of people to gain merit when they saw the Buddha, because he knew the proper time for each of them to pay homage to the Blessed One.

The four kinds of persons who went to the Cakkavattī are 1. Brāhmaṇa, 2. Khattiya, 3. Vessa and 4. Sudda, but in the P. T. the third and fourth is 'Gahapati' and 'Samaṇa' respectively.

The four qualities of a Cakkavattī are similar to those of Ānanda's four qualities. The Buddha again told Ānanda that he should not be aggrieved on his account, but strive hard for his final salvation.

XXVII. FORMER GREATNESS OF KUSINĀRĀ.

D. xvi. 5. 17-22.

There is a Sutta 'Mahā-sudassana Sutta' by name in Dīgha-Nikāya of the Pāli Tripiṭaka, in which, we shall find minute descriptions of the former greatness of Kusinārā. It seems very obvious that the Chinese translations have contained the whole Sutta in the present chapter concerned. Therefore, the portions in the translations which are beyond the scope of our present Pāli text, should be compared with the 'Mahā-sudassana-Sutta.'¹

1 See S.B.E., vol. xi. pp. 99. Note 1.

The Blessed One compared the city of Kusinārā, formerly Kusāvati, to Ālakanandā, the royal city of the Gods. It was mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Moreover it resounded with ten cries of the noise of animals and various musical instruments.

Knowing his existence would not linger any longer, the Buddha asked Ānanda to inform the Mallas to come and see him. They came in groups of their community and Ānanda managed skillfully so that each individual group did pay its homage to the Tathāgata.

The content in Nanjio No 1121, fasc. 37. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 80a-82b. is not so different from other Chinese translations but differs greatly from the P. T. It has related the glory of King Mahā-Sudassana; how to cremate the remains of the Buddha; how Ānanda made the Mallas pay their respects to the Buddha; the short sketch of the life of the Buddha and how the Blessed One went to the 33rd Heaven and conquered Gandharva, the God of Music.

I P. Sh. XII-10. p. 17a. L. 14—p. 18b. L. 14.

The bigger Kingdoms mentioned by Ānanda here are :

1. *Kiun-Janapada* Kingdom (Kosambi ?) 2. *Sāvatti*, 3. *Sāketa*.
4. *Campā*. 5. *Rājagaha*. 6. *Vārāṇasī* and 7. *Vesālī*. 'Ku-yi-yue' for Kusāvati.

From the East to the West Kusāvati is 480 *li* (3 *li* make a mile) in length. (Pāli : 12 *yojanas*)

From the South to the North the city is 280 *li* in breadth. (Pāli : 7 *yojanas*)

Then, the translation goes on to describe how righteous was the King Mahā-Sudassana and how beautiful was the city with its all richness and magnificence. It agrees nowhere with the present Pāli text, but it has to be compared with the 'Mahā-Sudassana Sutta'.

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 18a. L. 1-p. 20b. L. 17.

The Kingdoms mentioned here are :

1. *Campā*. 2. *Vesālī*. 3. *Rājagaha*. 4. *Vajji*. 5. *Sāvatti*.
6. *Kapilavatthu*. 7. *Vārāṇasī*.

The length and breadth of Kusāvati are 480 *li* and 280 *li* respectively.

Then, it gives us a detailed description of the city and the power of Cakkavattī in nearly about one hundred lines.

The narrative about Ānanda who went to see the Mallas roughly agrees with the P. T., but differs in details, for instance :—

“Amhākam ca no gāmakkhette Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ ahoṣi,
na mayaṃ labhihā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyā' ti.”

These Pāli lines are not found in this translation. On the contrary, some descriptions are not found in the P. T., such as :—

1. The 500 Mallas enquired of Ānanda, why he came so late at night, and what would he require. When they learnt what was going to happen they cried bitterly and swooned just like an uprooted tree falling on the ground. Ānanda comforted them. And then they brought their families with 500 pieces of white cloths to offer to the Buddha. The Lord accepted their offer, and they were gladdened by his teachings.

The manner of how Ānanda managed to present them to the Blessed One is corresponding to the P. T.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 43a. L. 4-p. 44b. L. 5.

There are only four kingdoms mentioned here :

1. Wen-Wu (Sāvatti?) 2. Rājagaha. 3. The kingdom of the Mallas. 4. Vesāli. 'Ku-na-ye' for 'Kusāvati'.

After the names of cities, comes the description of Kusāvati and the power of the Cakkavatti.

The latter portion relates how Ānanda went to see the Mallas and how they felt aggrieved when they heard that the death of the Buddha had been approaching nearer and nearer. Their King sent his Prince Asaṅgha (A-sen) along with the Mallas to come to see the Lord. The latter preached to them and advice was given to them concerning administration of their country. And it ended with a Gāthā uttered by the Blessed One.

This does not agree with the Pāli text.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 29b. L. 14-p. 32a. L. 4.

The Kingdoms mentioned here are :

1. Rājagaha. 2. Vesāli. 3. Sāvatti. 4. Vārāṇasī. 5. Ayodhyā (Capital of Kośala) 6. Campā. 7. Gotami. 8. Takṣhaśīla.

Nos. 5, 7 and 8, being for the first time seen, among all the texts concerned.

From the Eastern to the Western gate of the city, it is 12 yojanas; and from the Southern to the Northern gate 7 yojanas.

Then comes the description of the city as stated in other translations.

The narration about the Mallas who came to pay their homage to the Buddha and entreated him to stay on for one Kalpa and his reply to them and so on, is not exactly corresponding to the P. T.

XXVIII. THE BUDDHA AND HIS LAST DISCIPLE, SUBHADDA.

D. xvi. 5. 23-30.

When the Lord Buddha was in a critical moment, the mendicant Subhadda, who learnt that the Tathāgata was to pass away soon, approached him for solving some difficult problems. At the beginning Ānanda would not let him in, it was with great difficulty that he obtained his permission. The question which he put forth to the Blessed One was that whether the renowned masters of the leading philosophy-schools at that time such as :

1. Pūrana Kassapa.
2. Makkhali of the Cattle-pen.
3. Ajita of the garment of hair.
4. Kaccāyana of the Pakudha tree.
5. Sañjaya, the son of the Belatthi slave-girl.
6. Nigaṇṭha of the Nātha clan.

according to their own assertion, had thoroughly understood things? or they had not? or were there some of them who had understood, and some who had not? This question the Blessed One did not answer, but said to him that whatever religion or doctrine there might be, in which if the eightfold path was not to be found, the four stages of Saintliness (Samañaphala) also shall not be found there.

Having heard what the Buddha said,⁶ he was enlightened and immediately implored him to accept him as his disciple, and finally he obtained his Arhatship.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 38. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 83-85a. the outlines of Subhadda's question and the Buddha's reply about the Samañaphala, including the former becoming a Buddhist Bhikkhu, are more or less in accordance with the P. T. and other Chinese translations. But this text has related many previous birth-stories about Subhadda and the Buddha.

Here ends the 5th chapter of the Pali text.

1P. Sh. XII-10. p. 18b. L. 14-p. 19b. L. 5.

Subhadda was 120 years old. One night when awakened by the rays of the Buddha, he went up to him for solving his doubts. The reason given by Ānanda as to why he did stop him, was that he

feared that he might disturb him (the Buddha—The Pali text repeated twice the fact of Subhadda's requisition and Ānanda's refusal. It is not so here).¹ However, he was ushered in when the Blessed One learnt what had past between them. And the Buddha said to Ānanda :

“Alaṃ Ānanda, mā Subhaddam vāresi, labhataṃ Ānanda Subhaddo Tathāgatam dissanāya. Yaṃ kiñci maṃ Subhaddo pucchissati, sabban taṃ añña-pekho ‘va pucchissati no vihesā-pekho, yañ c’ assāham puṭṭho vyākarissāmi taṃ khippam eva ājārissatīti.”²

The above speech is not found here.

When face to face with the Buddha, Subhadda said that he had eight comrades, the first was Pūraṇa Kasspa and the last Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, who were full of evils and driven by desires, telling lies and creating falsehood. Whether they could be converted into the Buddhist religion? In replying, the Buddha said that they had eight kinds of evil-doings, such as :

1. Worshipping the Spirits. 2. Having boundless desires. 3. Speaking harsh words. 4. The habit of killing, stealing and committing adultery. 5. Being full of pride and anger. 6. Associating with outlaws and bad men. 7. Having no respect for the sages and Samaṇas. 8. Having no regards for their ancestrals and parents.

Therefore, they never cared to listen to his teachings. But if one had practised the eight precepts (the eightfold path) he would attain the four stages of Saintliness.

When Subhadda wanted to become a Samaṇa of the Buddhist Order, all his hair immediately dropped on the ground without any human assistance (it is not so in the Pali text). While concentrating his thoughts, he attained Arhatship, and immediately entered into Nirvāṇa there.

Then the Buddha went on to instruct the Bhikkhus that after his death, if anybody wanted to become a Bhikkhu, he should have three months' probation. If suitable, then he should be ordained with the Ten Precepts, after three years earnest spiritual cultivation, the 250 Rules of Bhikkhus should be given to him, if he so desired.

The disciples of the Blessed One should keep in mind his teachings and the Vinaya, and pay mutual respect among themselves. So that his religion may last longer.

1 See D. xvi. 5. 24.

2 See D. xvi. 5. 25.

The present portion of this translation is entirely different from the P. T.

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 20b. L. 17-p. 21a. L. 16.

Subhadda was a Brāhmaṇa and was 120 years old. Except a few points being different in this passage, it closely agrees with the Pāli text.

Here, the words in which Subhadda praised Ānanda appeared before he entreated the Buddha to take him as a disciple, whereas in the P. T. appeared after he got the permission of becoming a Buddhist disciple.

When Subhadda attained his Arhatship, he died before the Buddha's entering into Nirvāṇa (it is not mentioned in the P. T.).

The main question which Subhadda put before the Buddha was that whether he knew all the various doctrines and theories of the 6 different philosophical schools and their founders. Of this, it is slightly different from the P. T., for it runs :

“.....Sabbe te Sakāya paṭiññāya abbhaññaṃsu, sabbe 'va na abbhaññaṃsu, udahu ekacce abbhaññaṃsu ekacce na abbhaññaṃsu' ti?”¹

Having heard the doctrine of the Blessed One, Subhadda felt gladdened and said to the Buddha :

“Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhasa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā telappajotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhymanto rūpāni dakkhintitī, evam eva Bhagavatā anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito....”²

This is not found in the translation.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10, p. 44b. L. 5-p. 45a. L. 16.

Subhadda's age is the same as we have mentioned in the previous two translations.

Subhadda considered that the presence of a Buddha is as rare as that of the Udumbara flower.

The name of the eight masters of different philosophical schools and the first half of their eight kinds of misconduct is the same as that of XXVIII. IP. The remaining four are :

5. Evil livelihood. 6. Evil actions. 7. Evil thoughts. 8. Evil meditation.

1 See D. xvi. 5. 26.

2 See D. xvi. 5. 28.

Having learnt the eightfold path and their consequences, Subhadda wanted to become a Buddhist Samāṇa. The Buddha permitted him, and finally he obtained Arhatship and died even before the Tathāgata's death.

The 'three months probation' for a new comer to the Buddhist Order is also mentioned here, but nothing in common with the P. T.

The Pali passage ended with Subhadda's becoming an Arhat. But this translation goes further to describe:—

1. The four different kinds of people who wished to become Bhikkhus.

2. The 12 Suttas should be recited and observed.

3. The four memorable days of the Buddha.

Of course, this translation does not agree much with the P. T.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 32a. L. 4-p. 32b. L. 16.

The 120 years old Subhadda was a very learned man who knew the four Vedas and was revered by all.

Here too, the Buddha is compared with the Udumbara flower, for its rareness.

The conversation between Subhadda and Ānanda is different from the Pali text, though the chief idea is there.

Subhadda's question to the Buddha was that the six masters of different schools abused one another bitterly, and each of them said that his own school was the best and the only way to salvation. He, therefore, wished to know what was the matter with them and the real fact. The Blessed One preached the four noble Truths, the eightfold path and their consequences to him. Then, Subhadda implored to be accepted as the last disciple of the Blessed One. The Lord said:

"Oh well, let you be a Bhikkhu, and your hairs will drop (be shaved) by themselves and yellow robes will be worn by you!"

And the Buddha went on to instruct as to how in the times to come a heretic novice should set on four months probation and how his behaviour would be best observed and so forth.

Here too it is said that Subhadda was dead before the Buddha.

On the whole, this translation agrees with the P. T. in outline but not in detail. It is obviously clear that we find more things in the translation.

XXIX. THE LAST INSTRUCTIONS.

D. xvi. 6. 1-7.

The last instructions which were given by the Blessed One to his disciples are :

1. The Vinaya and Dharma are their teacher.
2. How the Bhikkhus should address one another.
3. Brahma-daṇḍa should be imposed upon Channa Bhikkhu.
4. Abolish the minor and lesser precepts after his death.
5. "Decay is inherent in all component things! work out your salvation with diligence."¹

He also desired the Bhikkhus to ask questions on the Dharma and Vinaya if they had any doubt. But none did. Finally Ānanda broke the silence and said that there was not a single Bhikkhu who had any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Vinaya.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 38. pp. 85a—85b., amongst the last instructions we find only Nos. 1 and 5.

The outlines are in agreement with the P. T., except that the Blessed One uncovered the upper part of his body allowing his disciples to have a last clear look and that the four places (cf. XXV. of this paper.) should be honoured.

IP. Sh. XII-10. p. 19b. L. 5-6.

The numbers 1. 2. 3. 4 and 5., in the beginning of this chapter are not found here.

The words of the Buddha desiring the Bhikkhus to ask questions and the reply of Ānanda are very simply stated. It is not like the Pāli text.

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 21b. L. 14-p. 22a. L. 6.

There are about 20 lines which appeared just before our subject-matter, dealing with the four places of pilgrimage and the Blessed One's praise for Ānanda.² And he also ordered his disciples to abolish the four months probation after his death.

His last instructions here are :

1. Channa Bhikkhu's punishment (Pāli: 3.)
2. The attitude of Bhikkhus towards women.

¹ These numbers will be referred to in the following comparison of texts.

² Cf. Ch. xxvi. IIB. of this paper.

3. Sūtra and Vinaya are the teachers of the Bhikkhus (Pāli : 1.)
4. Abolish the minor precepts (Pāli : 4.)
5. How should the brethren address one another. (Pāli : 2.)
6. Be diligent enough to strive for the final goal (Pāli : 5.)

In desiring his disciples to ask questions on the Doctrine and Vinaya, if they had any doubt. The following Pāli words :

“Sammukhī-bhūto no satthā ahosi, na mayaṃ sakkhimha Bhagavantam sammukhā paṭipucchitum”¹ ti’. are not found here.

Having said that even the most backward Bhikkhus would attain their highest goal the Buddha stretched out his golden coloured arm and said that the presence of a Tathāgata in this world was as rare as that of the Udumbara flower. And then, a Gāthā was uttered by him.

This translation is not so much in agreement with the P. T.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 45a. L. 16-20.

All the instructions in the P. T. are wanting here.

The narrative of wishing the Bhikkhus to ask questions is not very nicely expressed. It mentions a new subject, that is, the birth of Maitreya will take place only after one hundred million and four thousand years from the date of the Buddha’s death !

IVF. Sh. XII-10. 32b. L. 16—p. 33a. L. 9.

These are the last instructions in this text.

1. Prātimokṣa and Dharma are the Teachers.
2. Both the Elder and the younger should pay mutual respect, call each other’s name, but not family names.....(this is just opposite to the Pāli text, and it is also not very clearly stated.)²
3. “Let not the Saṅgha commit grave sins but also should not seek after insignificant shortcomings.”
4. Let heavy punishment be imposed on Channa Bhikkhu (Pāli : 3)
5. “You should practise diligently and try to get rid of the hot-bed of death and rebirth.” (Pāli : 5.)..... this is at the end of the passage.

On wishing the Bhikkhus to question if they had any doubt (on the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, are not mentioned), the Buddha

1 See D. xvi. 6. 5.

2 Cf. D. xvi. 6. 2, and see S. B. E., Vol. xi. p. 112.

said that though his strength was much exhausted due to illness, yet he was able to answer their questions.

The following Pāli passages :

“Siyā kho pana bhikkhava Satthu-gāravena pi na puccheyyātha.

Sahāyako pi bhikkhave sahāyakassa ārocetū” ti”¹

and the words of Ānanda’s reply to the Buddha :

“.....Evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ bhante imasimiṃ bhikkhusaṃghe n’atthi eka-bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhē vā Dhamme vā Saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā ’ ti.”

are either completely missing or stated quite differently here.

Being assured that there was no doubt in the minds of his disciples, the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus that if he had any shortcomings either of action, speech or thought, they should, however inform him, but they replied in the negative. Then the Buddha uttered the famous Gāthā :

“Aniccā vata saṃkhārā

Uppāda-vaya-dhammino,

Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti,

Tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho.”

whereas in the P. T. this verse is uttered by Sakka, the Lord of Gods, at the time when the Blessed One had just expired.²

XXX. THE DEATH OF THE BUDDHA.

D. xvi. 6. 8-12.

Before his final expiry, the Buddha entered into different stages of deep meditation, i. e., from the first Jhāna to the second, third, fourth Jhāna, Ākāśānancāyatana.....till he reached the highest state of meditation called Sañña-vedayitanirodhaṃ. Then he started from the last and returned to the first condition of Jhāna. Again, he entered into the first, second, third and fourth Jhāna. Upto the 4th and he advanced no further. He breathed his last !

There was a mighty earthquake at the moment of his death.

These were the four Gāthās that were uttered on this occasion by both Gods and men namely :

1. By Brahmā Sahapati.
2. By Sakka, the Lord of Gods.
3. By Anuruddha.
4. By Ānanda.

1 Cf. D. xvi. 6. 5.

2 D. xvi. 6. 9.

Then, some of the Bhikkhus and Gods cried bitterly as though they were going to die with the Lord. However Anuruddha comforted them with the words¹ which the Blessed One used to teach them previously, i. e., the impermanence of all things.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 38. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 85b-86b, it states that King Ajātasattu would die by vomiting blood, if he should hear the news of the Blessed One's death. Later on, that news did come, and he swooned twice (not found in the P. T.).

Here, the Gāthās were uttered by :

1. Certain Bhikkhu.
2. Sakka, the Lord of Gods.
3. Brahmā Sahapati.
4. Anuruddha.

Regarding the lamentation of the Bhikkhus and the Gods crowding the sky, it has more or less a tinge of that of Ch. XXIV of this paper.

IP. Sh. XII-10. p. 19b. L. 6-14.

The Buddha ordered the Bhikkhus to keep quiet, because it was in the depth of midnight and that was the time for him to attain Nirvāṇa. He meditated deeply, giving away all thoughts of both good and evil. He started meditating from the Catu-mahārājakāyikās (not in the P. T.) to Saññā-vedayita-nirodham, and from there, returned to the normal state. As a result of this, he visualized that all the four² bodily elements were impure and impermanent, therefore, he breathed his last by lying himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other.

This differs from the P. T. ³

There was earthquake; flowers were showered from heaven and 14 lakhs of people cried bitterly for his passing away. This too does not agree with the P. T.

The Sakka, Lord of the Gods, related to other Spirits (not in verse form) that what the Buddha had told: "Whosoever is born, surely one day, he will die." Therefore, you should think of: Impermanence, sufferings, emptiness and non-self....."

The King of the 7th Heaven also uttered a few short sentences (not in verse form) that the illumination of the Buddha was darkened

1 Cf. D. xvi. 5. 6.

2 The earthen, watery, fiery, and windy elements of the body.

3 Cf. D. xvi. 6. 8-9.

at the moment when he had discarded his body. Therefore, it was no use for the people to weep.

None of the above utterances agree with the Gāthās of Brahmā Sahapati and Sakka, the Lord of Gods.

There is no Gāthā uttered either by Anuruddha or by Ānanda here.

Then comes the mourning of the Bhikkhus, the soothing words of Anuruddha to both Gods and men. The chief item here is the same as that of the P. T., though it differs greatly in details.

IIB. XII-9. p. 22a. L. 7.-p. 23a. L. 19.

The narrative of the Buddha's entering into different stages of deep meditation, and the first two verses uttered by Brahmā Sahapati and Sakka, are exactly the same as those of the P. T. But the translation describes a scene which is not found in the P. T. It says that at the moment of his death, the earth trembled violently, powerful rays prevailed over the whole universe, that were even stronger than the Sun and the Moon. And the Gods of the Trayastrimśa Heaven showered heavenly flowers and perfumes on the Blessed One and the crowd that assembled there.

There are 18 Gāthās uttered by Gods, Bhikkhus, Spirits and mortals.

Below are the persons who uttered those Gāthās.

1. Brahmā Sahapati.
2. Sakka, the Lord of Gods.
3. Vaiśravaṇa.
4. Anuruddha (same as the P. T., but shorter.)
5. Brahma-manā Bhikkhu.
6. Ānanda Bhikkhu. (Same as the P. T., but shorter.)
7. Kumbhīra.
8. Vajrapāṇi.
9. Māyā, the Buddha's mother.
10. The spirit of the Twin Sāla Trees.
11. The spirit of the Sāla grove.
12. Catur-mahārāja.
13. The King of Trayastrimśa.
14. The King of Yamadevaloka.
15. The King of Tuṣita Heaven.
16. The King of Nirmita-vaśavartin.¹

¹ We think that it may be Nirmāṇarati also, because it is next above the Tuṣita Heaven.

17. The King of Paranirmita-vaśavartin.

18. The Strange Bhikkhu.

As it is stated in the P. T. that among the Bhikkhus as well as among the Gods, there were two kinds of them, one being ordinary and the other who have got rid of desires. The former mourned for the Buddha and were as sorrowful as any human being could be; the latter stood the shock silently and calmly, because they knew everything is impermanent! It is not so classified in this translation. Here, all the Gods and men wept alike. Moreover Anuruddha told Ānanda that there were innumerable Gods in the sky mourning for the passing away of the Blessed One. This is not found in the P. T. in the present connection, but we get in XXIV.—‘Spirits watching the Buddha’ of this paper.¹

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 45a. L. 20—p. 45b. L. 19.

Seeing that the Blessed One entered into the state of Saññāveda-yita-nirodha Ānanda thought that he had died and said: “I formerly heard from the Buddha that when one attained his Nirvāṇa, he had first to undergo the four stages of Dhyāna till he went up to the state of giving away all consciousness.....”

This speech is not in the P. T.

In describing the scene at the moment of the Buddha’s death, the P. T. only gives us to understand that there was a mighty earthquake and the heavenly drums were sounded. But here it relates something more, e.g., all the Gods, spirits, and ghosts assembled in the sky and showered flowers on him like a great downpour.

Here we find three Gāthās uttered by :—

1. Sakka, the Lord of Gods (of the second Heaven).
2. Brahmā Sahapati (of the 7th Heaven).
3. Anuruddha. •

The contents of the first two verses are somewhat similar to the P. T., but the last one is three times larger, and there is hardly anything corresponding to the Pāli Gāthā.

The two classes of Gods and Bhikkhus in the manner of mourning at the Blessed One’s death, are not so well classified and clearly stated as we find in the P. T.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 33a. L. 9—p. 34a. L. 5.

The conversation between Anuruddha and Ānanda about the final expiry of the Buddha is a bit longer than the P. T.

1 Cf. D. xvi. 5. 10.

Before the utterances of Gods and men and just at the moment of the final passing away of the Blessed One, there is a long description about the natural phenomena becoming awfully dreadful and gloomy, and the grave scene of his heart-broken disciples.

The number of Gāthās here are four in all. The names of persons who uttered them are in accordance with the P.T., but their contents differ greatly. It may be that, for the sake of verse form, the translator had to alter them partly or totally.

Here, the text has a little distinction between those who have got rid of desires and those who have not, in the manner of mourning the expiry of the Tathāgata. But it is very briefly described.

Furthermore, one peculiar thing has been mentioned here which is that just at the moment of the Buddha's death, there was a great crowd of people which assembled in the neighbourhood wishing to see the Buddha. Their number was so large that it even filled up an amount of space of 32 Yojanas! Such a statement according to our opinion, is undoubtedly a mistake for the great crowds of Gods who were watching his death. Then, this translation goes on to tell us how Ānanda allowed the Bhikkhunis, Upāsikās, Upāsakas and others to pay their last homage to the Tathāgata in the manner of 'Ladies first' and others followed suit.

Amongst the Upāsikās there was a poor lady who was 100 years of age. Being very poor, she could not afford to buy any flower or incense to offer to the Buddha. On seeing others offering their best, she cried and sobbed more dreadfully than any body else. However, all this is not found in the Pāli text.

XXXI. HOMAGE OF THE MALLAS

D. xvi. 6. 13—16

The Mallas of Kusinārā were intimated about the Buddha's death early in the next morning. They were completely broken down and felt grotesquely distressful. They came with 500 suits of apparel, flowers, incense and a band of music to offer to the Blessed One's remains. This they did for seven days. On the 7th day, eight chiefs of the Mallian community came and tried to lift the coffin, but they failed. Then Anuruddha told them the reason. The intention of the Gods was to direct the funeral procession by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, and lead it through the midst of the city. And they intended going out again by the eastern gate. But it was

just contrary to their intention, because they wanted that it should be taken out by the south, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city. However the Mallas yielded to the will of the Gods and the funeral procession was directed by the Immortals along with the assistance of men.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 38. Sh. XVil-2. pp. 86—87, it states that the intention of both the Gods and men was to take the funeral procession by entering the west gate of the city of Kusinārā and coming out by its east gate. These directions are entirely different from the P.T.

Before the beginning of their procession, the Mallas also asked Ānanda how to cremate the remains of the Buddha.

IP. Sh. XII-10. p. 19b. L. 14—p. 20a. L. 18.

There is no mention of how Ānanda and Anuruddha spent their time during the night when the Buddha's death took place.

When the news of the Buddha's death was announced by Ānanda, each of the 500 Mallas wanted to have the honour in performing the final funeral rites alone, but their King stopped them. Therefore the householders and people together carried the bier on which the body was lying, to the city, and it was accompanied by Gods, spirits, Nāgas, ghosts and men and escorted with heavenly canopies, flowers, musical bands and so forth. It shows clearly that the Buddha's body was in the city of Kusinārā. The Mallas enquired of Ānanda as how to cremate it, and he told them what the Buddha once said to him (not agreeing with the P.T.). On the 7th day, there assembled 300 thousand people and 100 thousand followers of Sakka, the Lord of the Gods in the city for the ceremony of cremating the body of the Buddha. Sakka expressed his desire to do the cremation, but Ānanda refused him on the ground that it was the Tathāgata's will to let the Mallas perform it. However, the Gods would not give in, and the compromise being reached later on was that it should be performed by both Gods and men. When the funeral procession was started, the Gods took hold of the bier on the right side and men on the left.

The disagreement between the Gods and men in the P.T. is that the former wants to have the procession going by the north, and the latter by the south. This point is not stated here. Whatever we find here is absolutely different from the Pāli text,

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 23a. L. 19—p. 23b. L. 18.

The 500 Mallas greeted Ānanda when early in the morning the latter went to them accompanied by another Bhikkhu to announce the Blessed One's death. They wept bitterly and Ānanda comforted them. They settled among themselves that first of all they should gather flowers, perfumes and musical bands to offer to the remains of the Buddha. Having done so for one day, they desired that it should be carried by four young Mallas entering into the east gate of the city, (Pāli: south direction) and proceeding through the streets so that people might pay their last homage, and coming out by the west gate (Pāli: south direction). But finally their plan was turned down by the will of Gods that the latter wished it (the body) to be kept for seven days in the place where it was. And on the 7th day it should be taken to the city by entering its east gate (Pāli: north gate) and coming out by its north gate (Pāli: east gate). The latter plan was carried out very successfully by the co-operation of Gods and men. It made the funeral procession more grand and pompous when the Gods of Trayastrimśa along with other spirits showered all kinds of heavenly flowers and perfumes on the big procession. What more on the occasion, was that there was a young Mallian girl who held a golden flower in her hand which was as big as that of a wheel, and an old woman who praised them immensely. At last they reached Makuṭa-Bandhana where the Buddha's body was cremated.

However, this is not much in agreement with the Pāli text.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 45b. L. 19—p. 46a. L. 10.

When the Mallas were informed by Ānanda about the Buddha's death, they asked him how they should cremate the remains of the Blessed One, he told them that 'like the King of Kings.' Within seven days they prepared gold vessel, gold bed, gold coffin, iron coffin, 1000 pieces of new cloth, flowers, perfumes, lamps, candlesticks and offered all kinds of music. They came with a big crowd of people which had filled up an amount of space of 480 *li* and proceeded to the Twin-Sāla Trees to pay the Buddha their last reverence. When the young Mallas attempted to lift the bier on which the Buddha's body was lying, they failed even for the third time. Anuruddha told the reason that the Gods desired the Mallas to support the coffin on the left side, and they on the right side, when the funeral procession would take place by entering the east gate (Pāli:

north gate) of the city and coming out by its west gate (Pāli: east gate). The plan was carried out by both men and Gods amidst the heavenly and earthly musical bands, flowers, and other great pomp.

Here again it is not in agreement with the Pāli text.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 34a. L. 5—34b. L. 3.

Now the Mallas gathered together and asked Ānanda that in what manner they should perform the final rites of the Buddha. He told them that it should be like a Cakkavattī. Following his advice they prepared a precious chariot for the Buddha's body. Having honoured it with all kinds of flowers, perfumes, and musical band for seven days, it was laid in the gold coffin and that was covered with other three coffins of silver, brass and iron. On the 7th day, the Mallas attempted to lift the coffins, but they could not do it, and the reason was given by Anuruddha.

The intention of the Gods as to by which gate should the funeral procession enter and by which gate should it come out and other scenes are roughly in agreement with the Pāli text.

On the whole, the foregoing descriptions have little similarity with the Pāli Sutta, and each is different from the other, so far as the translations are concerned!

XXXII. BURIAL OF A KING

D. xvi. 6. 17—18.

The description of the burial of a King, and the same should be applied to the Tathāgata. It has already been mentioned in Ch. XXV. of this paper.¹ The contents of the former and the present one are the same except the former which were told by the Buddha, and the latter, which were addressed to the Mallas by Ānanda.

IP. Sh. XII-10, p. 19b. L. 18—p. 20a. L. 2. and L. 16—18.

Here, the translation does not mention how many pieces of cloth should be required to wrap the Blessed One's body with. But it marked out that the length and breadth of the pyre should be 300 feet (!) and it was constructed with all kinds of scented wood. When the cremation was over, his relics should be picked up and washed with perfumed boiled water. And let it be placed in a gold vessel in the shrine of the King's palace for 90 days. Having done so,

1 Cf. D. xvi. 5. 11.

then, a huge tower should be built up on the four-crossing road for preserving those relics.

This text has little similarity with the P.T.¹

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 23b. L. 18—p. 24a. L. 6.

The way of describing how to cremate the Buddha's body here has the same tint as that of the P.T., but it varies in details.

As regarding in what manner the cremation had taken place, see XXV. IIB, of this paper.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 46a. L. 8—10.

In this text, the Mallas did not ask how to cremate the Buddha's remains. It states briefly that they wrapped his body with 1000 pieces of new cloth. Having filled the gold coffin with oil, his body was laid inside, and that was enclosed with another iron coffin. When the pyre of all kinds of scented wood was ready, the minister Au-su by name began to kindle it, but he failed.

Of course this translation is greatly different from the P.T.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 34b. L. 1—3.

This translation again does not agree with the P.T. It tells us that when the pyre of all sorts of scented fuel was decorated with silk pieces and shaded with a great canopy, the four kinds of Buddhist disciples along with Gods, spirits and Nāgas carried the coffin going round that funeral pile for seven times. Having placed the coffin on its top and showered it with perfumed oil they began to kindle it, but they failed even for the third time.

XXXIII. KASSAPA'S SALUTATION

D. xvi. 6. 19—23

Mahā Kassapa, one of the Buddha's greatest disciples was coming from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a huge company of 500 brethren. On the way he met certain naked ascetic who informed him that his master, the Buddha had died. On hearing that sad news, all the Bhikkhus of his company who had not yet got rid of worldly desires, cried and sobbed with great distress. Therein rose a very interesting personage Subhadda by name who spoke to his fellow-bhikkhus thus :

1 Cf. xxv. IP. of this paper.

“Enough, brethren, weep not, neither lament! we are well rid of the great Samaṇa. We used to be annoyed by being told: ‘This beseems you, this beseems you not.’ But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do:”¹

Mahā Kassapa comforted them by explaining to them that in the innate nature of everything, it consists of ‘decay and impermanence.’ Therefore, they should not be so distressed by the fact that their master was no more.

On the other hand the chieftains of the Mallas dressed themselves neatly coming up to the pyre and attempted to kindle it, but they failed. Then Anuruddha told them the reason which was that the Gods wished Mahā Kassapa to pay his last veneration to the Buddha before his remains had turned into ashes. They waited for him. And in due time he reached there. Having uncovered the feet of the Blessed One, he and Other Bhikkhus of his company bowed down in reverence at the great master’s feet.

Then, the funeral pile of the Buddha caught fire of itself.

In Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 38. Sh. XVII-2, p. 87a—87b. it says that the Bhikkhu who uttered those frank words was Mahārā by name (Pāli: Subhadda). Many people helped Mahā Kassapa to uncover the remains of the Buddha for having a last look at him, and later on he rewrapped it with 1000 pieces of cloth and snow cotton which belonged to him. When the pyre caught fire of itself, Ānanda uttered a verse on the occasion.

IP. Sh. XII-10. p. 20a. L. 18—p. 20b. L. 19.

No mentioning of where Kassapa came from. The naked ascetic whom he met on the way was called ‘U-wei’. His company consisted of 2000 Buddhist disciples of all the four kinds.

When the Bhikkhus heard the nonsensical speech of Subhadda (his name is not mentioned here), they complained to the Gods, and he was ordered to leave the company by the divine force.

When they reached the place where the remains of the Blessed One was kept, most of them swooned and even died at the very spot. Mahā Kassapa gazed at the gold coffin and thought to himself that he had come too late was at a loss to find out where the master’s head and feet were. No sooner had he thus soliloquated than the Buddha’s feet appeared forewards by themselves. He saluted them

1 See D. xvi. 6, 20.

and praised the virtues and merits of the great master in a 56 sentences Gāthā, while his head was still touching the master's feet.

When his utterance was over, the feet shrank back. The Brāhmaṇas and householders kindled the pyre. The rays of the funeral pile shone everywhere even up to the 7th Brahma World. Seeing that light, the Gods there were beamed with joy and said :

“What is this brilliant lightening, which we had never before !”

The outline of the first half of this passage is roughly agreeing with the P. T., and the latter half is strangely different.

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 24a. L. 7-p. 24b. L. 7.

Here first comes the attempt to kindle the funeral pile by a Mallian minister Ru-ye by name, but he failed. Anuruddha told him the reason and asked him to wait for Mahā Kassapa's arrival who was coming on the way.

After that, comes the narrative as to how he came to know that his master, the Buddha was dead and how the 500 Bhikkhus stood the shock. The Bhikkhu who uttered those frank words¹ was Subhaddānanda (Pāli: Subhadda) and was of the Sakya family. That speech made Kassapa very unhappy and he could do nothing but urged his brethren to proceed to Kusinārā.

When Kassapa reached the place, he intimated Ānanda that he desired to see the remains of their master, but the latter refused him even for the third time on the ground that that was wrapped with 1000 pieces of cloth and locked inside of three coffins. While they were arguing, there appeared suddenly the feet (not so in the P. T.) of the Buddha from those coffins. On seeing the colour being different from the former golden colour of the Buddha, Kassapa questioned Ānanda why it was so, the latter replied that because an old woman who shed tears on the Blessed One's feet, therefore, the colour changed. Having heard this Kassapa again felt very sad !

The feet of the Blessed One disappeared after Mahā Kassapa and other disciples along with Gods and men having paid their last homage.

Then Mahā Kassapa uttered a 38 sentences² Gāthā in praising the perfection and greatness of the Tathāgata. After this, the funeral pile caught fire of itself.

Many events which occurred here are not found in the Pāli text.

1 Cf. D. xvi. 6, 20.

2 This Gāthā differs from the one mentioned in XXXIII. 1P. of this paper.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 46a. L. 10—46b. L. 12.

The first half of this passage consisting of 1. The Mallian chieftains failed to kindle the pyre. 2. The naked ascetic informed Kassapa of the death of the Buddha. 3. The lamentation of the brethren and Kassapa's words of comfort (this slightly agrees with the P. T.) 4. Subhadda's (Danta?) speech and 5. The conversation between Kassapa and Ānanda and so forth is roughly corresponding to Ch. XXXIII. IP. of this paper. And the Gāthā uttered by Kassapa is exactly the same as we find in Ch. XXXIII. IP.

However, this translation has some particularity of its own, that is after Mahā Kassapa and other disciples along with Gods and men having bowed down in reverence at the Buddha's feet, the pyre caught fire of itself, and Ānanda uttered a verse on seeing that wonder.

This utterance is neither found in the Pāli text nor in all the Chinese translations concerned, except in Nanjio No. 1121.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 34b. L. 3-19.

The reason as told by Anuruddha as to why the Mallas could not kindle the pyre was this that the Tathāgata desired (Pāli: by Gods' will) that Mahā Kassapa should see him before his remains had been reduced into ashes. At that time Kassapa was in Dakṣaṇa-nagarī (no mentioning of Pāvā) and learnt that the Blessed One was going to pass away, so he came in great haste with a huge company of the brethren. His master's death was confirmed by the naked ascetic. The lamentation of the Bhikkhus and his soothing words to them are agreeing in outline with Ch. XXXIII. IIIN. of this paper.

The name of Subhadda (in Pāli) who spoke those discouraging words is not mentioned here. It states that that was uttered by Bhikkhus who were ignorant and had only for a very short time being admitted to the Order.

When Mahā Kassapa went up to the Buddha's coffin, his master's feet suddenly appeared (Pāli: Pādato vivaritvā—having uncovered the feet) in front of him. On which he saw that there were drops of stain and questioned Ānanda for the reason of it; the latter replied that those were tear-drops of an old woman and related how it had happened. Being saluted by all, the feet shrank back and the pyre caught fire of itself.

Here, it is just like the P. T., no Gāthā was uttered by Mahā Kassapa.

XXXIV. APPLICATIONS FOR THE REMAINS

D. xvi. 6. 24—26.

When the news of the Blessed One's death has spread far and wide, the King and people of different kingdoms sent messengers to the chieftains of Kusinārā to claim a share of the Buddha's relics on the ground that he was of the 'Khattiya' caste, and they were of the same caste. And even a Brāhmaṇa (the top one of the four castes) also claimed that he should get a share because the Lord Buddha was of the second caste (Khattiya) and he of the first one (Brāhmaṇa)! Amongst the Kings and people who claimed for the relics, the Sakyas of Kapilāvatthu had, according to our opinion every right to do so, after all, they were the Buddha's relatives.

The following is a list of share-claimers on different footings.

A. Claimed as his caste men.

1. Ajātasattu, King of Magadha.
2. The Licchavis of Vesālī.
3. The Bulis of Allakappa.
4. The Kolis of Rāmagāma.
5. The Mallas of Pāvā.
6. The Moris of Pippalivana.
7. The Mallas of Kusinārā.

B. Claimed as within the social cycle.

1. The Brāhmaṇa of Vaṭhadīpa.

C. Claimed as his kinsmen.

1. The Sakyas of Kapilāvatthu.

The Mallas of Kusinārā besides being the relations on social footing with the Buddha, had the right to refuse any share to be granted to others, for :—

"The Lord Buddha died in our village domain. We shall not give away part of the remains of the Blessed One." as the messengers were so told.

However, the relics of the Buddha were divided equally into eight parts by the Brāhmaṇa Doṇa, after he had succeeded in persuading them not to quarrel but to let each and everyone have his own share.

The messenger of the Moris of Pippalivana came too late, therefore no relic was given to them, but the embers.

Before the distribution of the remains of the Buddha, the funeral pile was extinguished by 1. waters coming down from the sky; 2. streams of water bursting forth from the earth, and 3. by the scented water of the Mallas.

After the cremation, there remained nothing of the Buddha, but only his bones—the relics what those Kings and people claimed for.

In Nanjio No. 1121, fasc. 38—39. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 87—88 it relates that the pyre was extinguished by a large quantity of milk flowing down from the four trees which had grown up from the pyre itself! The Mallas of Pāvā were the first people to march troops to the gate of Kusinārā for claiming a portion of the relics, then other seven kingdoms, including Magadha followed suit. However, the relics were divided into eight parts and shared with by eight kingdoms.

The Moris of Pippalivana who came too late, got only the embers.

The essential points here are more or less in concomitance with the Pāli text.

IP. Sh. XII-10. p. 20b. L. 18—p. 21b. L. 3.

This passage tells us a quite different story, which, according to our opinion has got some tint from the *Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta*, because it is full of incredible and imaginary things, e.g.,

1. The funeral pile was extinguished with perfumed milk.

2. After the cremation, all the 1000 pieces of cloth were reduced to ashes, but the inner and outer garments of the Buddha were yet as unburnt as before!

3. The relics of the Blessed One were brought to the palace of the King of Kusinārā and were watched by 20,000 Bhikkhus as guards! Anuruddha told the Gods to go home because the remains of the Tathāgata would only be enshrined after 90 days thenceforth.

4. The prophecy uttered by Mahā Kassapa and others about the future life of the King of Kusinārā.

5. No name of the 8 kingdoms was mentioned but troops were sent to Kusinārā by the Rulers of those kingdoms, in case, the relics were not granted, they would fight it out.

6. Doṇa (Chuen-chu) Brāhmaṇa was not a man but a God in disguise, who brought gold vessels from heaven and mixed up the relics with honey, then, he gave them to the Kings.

7. Doṇa did not utter any Gāthā here as we find in the Pāli text.

And many other things which have no agreement with the P.T.

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 24b. L. 7—p. 25a. L. 11.

This translation is nearer to the P.T., though there are disagreements still.

The pyre was extinguished by streams of water coming down from the sky and that was caused by the spirit of the Twin Sāla Trees (no other streams of water being mentioned here). The Mallas of Kusinārā gathered flowers of all kinds within the realm of 12 *yojanas* in Kusinārā to make their offer to the relics.

The description in the P. T. about what the condition of the Buddha's remains was, after the cremation, is not found here.¹

Amongst Kings and people who marched troops of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry to Kusinārā were the following :

1. The Mallas of Pāvā.
2. The Bulis of Allakappa (P'o-li of Cha-lo-pa),
3. The Kolis of Rāmagāma.
4. The Licchavis of Vesāli.
5. The Brāhmaṇa of Veṭṭhadipa.
6. Ajātasattu—King of Magadha.

The messengers of the above six said to the Mallas of Kusinārā that because the All Blessed One was also their teacher (not on the ground of caste, kinsmen or being within the social cycle), therefore they desired to obtain a portion of his relics. The Mallas politely thanked them and refused to part with any of the remains. Ajātasattu, the King of Magadha, crossed the Ganges along with his four kinds of troops and reached the city of Kusinārā. He sent a Brāhmaṇa of the Gandha Clan (Doṇa) as his messenger and asked him to tell the Mallas of Kusinārā that in the past they were on friendly terms with each other, so he hoped that they would give him a share of the relics; in return, he would offer them whatever they would desire, otherwise, his soldiers were ready for battle and would take it by force. The Mallas were as stubborn as they could be and refused them all, nevertheless they thanked them for having taken the trouble.

Then the heads of the different groups who came to claim for relics sent the Mallas their combined ultimatum in the form of a verse stating that they would fight to death for it, in case they hesitated to yield in. But the latter replied that they too had soldiers ready and were not in the least afraid of fighting the battle unto death.

The Brāhmaṇa of Gandha Clan (Doṇa) said to the parties that that

1 See D. xvi, 6. 23.....first half portion.

was not the proper way for the disciples of the Buddha and he suggested a device which was to divide the relics into eight parts. The plan was carried out. But he first of all sent one of the Buddha's teeth to Ajātasattu and said that he would himself bring his share by the dawn. When he divided the relics for the eight groups, the latter allowed him to have the empty vessel which contained the remains.

Here the text also mentioned that the Moris of Pippalivana came too late and only got the embers of the cremation ground.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 46b. L. 13—p. 47a. L. 7.

No mentioning of how the funeral pile was extinguished, but it tells us that just after the cremation was over there grew up four different trees on the very spot where the Buddha's body was reduced to ashes.

The people of six different kingdoms (for names see XXXIV. IIB.) including Magadha came to Kusinārā with four kinds of soldiers to claim for the relics, on the ground that the Buddha was also their teacher. The Sakyas of Kapilā-vatthu too brought troops to Kusinārā and claimed that the Blessed One was the pride of their Clan and their father.

The remaining portion is almost like that of XXXIV. IIB. of this paper.

At the end of this passage it says that a Brāhmaṇa Wen-wei by name took the cinders of the pyre; and an ascetic of Pippalivana (Pāli: The Moris of Pippalivana) asked for the embers of the cremation ground for building up memorial mounds. Finally they succeeded in having what they desired.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 34b. L. 19—p. 35a. L. 18.

The funeral pile was extinguished by streams of water (lit. fire) pouring down from the sky.

The first and last piece of cloth which wrapped the Buddha's body remained unburnt!

Having collected the relics, the Mallas kept them in a large storied building and guarded them by four kinds of army. When that news was reported to Ajātasattu, he was altogether enraged by what the Mallas did and sent a messenger to them stating that if they dared refuse him, a portion of his teacher's relics, he would march troops *en masse* to fight it out. Then other chieftains of seven different kingdoms, including the Licchavis of Vesālī (names of other kingdoms

are not found here) followed his steps. The Mallas replied politely that they were not in a position to part with any portion of the relics because the Blessed One had breathed his last in their village domain, they desired to reserve and worship the remains totally, nor did they hesitate or fear to fight a battle. To that end, soldiers of various types streamed down from different quarters of India towards Kusinārā. It seemed that a dreadful battle for "Holy Bones" was unavoidable. Fortunately, at that critical moment, there stepped forward a wise Brāhmaṇa Doṇa (this is the only correct transliteration among all the Chinese translations concerned here) from Kusinārā, who foresaw the would-be consequences and persuaded all the parties concerned to lay down their arms and divide the relics into eight parts. They agreed with the proposal and he did the distribution. And all the chieftains and people went home cheerfully.

The Mallas of Kusinārā got the embers too (Pāli: obtained by the Moris of Pipphalivana).

XXXV. THE TEN STŪPAS.

D. xvi. 6. 27—28.

When the Kings and people of different kingdoms got their own shares of the relics of the Blessed One, they built up Stūpas in their respective cities.

The following are the ten Stūpas :

1. The Stūpa in Rājagaha built by King Ajātasattu.
2. The Stūpa in Vesālī built by the Licchavis of Vesālī.
3. The Stūpa in Kapilā-vatthu built¹ by the Sakyas of Kapilā-vatthu.
4. The Stūpa in Allakappa built by the Bulis of Allakappa.
5. The Stūpa in Rāmagāma built by the Kolis of Rāmagāma.
6. The Stūpa in Veṭṭhadīpa built by a Brāhmaṇa of Veṭṭhadīpa.
7. The Stūpa in Pāvā built by the Mallas of Pāvā.
8. The Stūpa in Kusinārā built by the Mallas of Kusinārā.
9. The vessel-stūpa built by the Brāhmaṇa Doṇa.
10. The ember-stūpa built by the Moris of Pipphalivana.

The text of the Pāli MAHĀ-PARINIBBĀNA-SUTTA ends here.

There is a Gāthā uttered by the Theras of Ceylon just at the end of the text.

Nanjio No. 1121. fasc. 39. Sh. XVII-2. pp. 88a-88b gives us an account that beside the ten Stūpas which have been mentioned in the Pāli text, there were four tooth-stūpas in different places: One

in the palace of Sakka, the Lord of Gods, one in Gandhāra, one in Kālīṅga and one in the Nāga palace at Amara. Later on, King Aśoka built 84,000 Stūpas all over India for the good of his people to pay homage to the remains of the Tathāgata.

IP. Sh. XII-10. p. 21b. L. 3—p. 22a. L. 2.

Besides the eight Stūpas of the relics, there was one for the vessel, another for the cinders and still another for the embers. Therefore, it makes a total number of 11 Stūpas.

The translation gives a long description about how the first Buddhist Council was conducted and on what date the Blessed One took birth, died, renounced the world and obtained enlightenment.

IIB. Sh. XII-9. p. 25a. L. 11—p. 25b. L. 3.

The account of the first ten Stūpas has no difference from what has been stated in the Pāli text. But there is one more here, the 11th Stūpa which contains the hairs of the Blessed One and they were gathered when he was still alive.

At the end of the translation, there is a Gāthā describing the day and month on which the Buddha took his birth, died, entered into the Order and attained enlightenment.

IIIN. Sh. XII-10. p. 47a. L. 7—p. 47b. L. 7.

There are altogether 11 Stūpas here in this translation. Besides the eight Stūpas of relics, the 9th being the vessel, 10th the cinder and the last the ember.

The date of the Blessed One's renouncing the world, attaining enlightenment, taking birth and dying was on the 8th day of the 4th Moon.

Then the translation goes on to relate how the Sutta Piṭaka was recorded by the Bhikkhus; the future life of the King of Kusinārā and other minor descriptions.

IVF. Sh. XII-10. p. 35a. L. 18—20.

There were ten Stūpas built by the Kings and people (for details see the beginning of this chapter).

This translation finally sums up the above narrations from the beginning of the Blessed One's desire for attaining Nirvāṇa, till his death at Kusinārā and the building up of Stūpas in various centres in India. These form the real happenings of the Mahā-parinibbāna-Sutta.

And later on Mahā Kassapa, Ānanda and others had their first Buddhist Council at Rājagaha.

Fa-Chow

Ki-pin and Kashmir

The identification of Ki-pin, a country mentioned in the Chinese records of the Han period, has been a matter of controversy for many years. Prof. Sylvain Lévi was the first to suggest the identification of Ki-pin with Kashmir and to point out that there was no confusion in the Chinese records about the identity till 581 A. D. But since the T'ang period when a new transcription of the name of Kashmir as Kia-she-mi-lo came in use, the Chinese authors lost sight of the old identity and began to consider Ki-pin as another name of Kapiśa (Lévi—J. As. 1895, pp. 371 ff.). Prof. Chavannes with the help of other Chinese records endorsed the view of Prof. Lévi (B. E. F. E. O., III, pp. 415, 417, 432, and 435). Since then the identification was accepted as conclusive but scholars not acquainted with the Chinese records reopened the discussion and summarily rejected the identification, (Sten Konow—*Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, Corpus, p. xxiii; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 567; Tarn—*Greeks in Bactria and India* and H. C. Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*—all editions since 1923—2nd edition, p. 274). Some of them have identified it with Kapiśa and others more vaguely with Kapiśa-Kāśmīra without any qualification.¹ As the identification of Ki-pin

1 Cf. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 567—"Ki-pin is a geographical term which is used in various senses by Chinese writers but which in this case would most naturally mean Kāpīśa (Kafiristan)". Tarn—*Greeks in Bactria and India*—"the Chinese mixed up Kapiśa and Kashmir in their Ki-pin"; Tarn would identify Ki-pin with Kophene (Kabul). Sten Konow identifies Ki-pin of the Han period with Kapiśa Cf. besides his *Introduction to the Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions* (Corpus) his article—*Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology* (J. of Indian History, XII, pp. 8-14). While commenting on Sten Konow's views Pelliot says (J. As., 1934, n.)—"I take this opportunity of saying a word on another Chinese name discussed in the article of M. Sten Konow. In this article M. Sten Konow speaks of a country to be identified 'with Kapiśa i. e. the country which the Chinese called Ki-pin'. Is it necessary to remind him once again that the identity of Ki-pin with Kapiśa is not self-evident? On the contrary it is certain that prior to 600 A. D., Ki-pin always stands for Kāśmīra and not Kapiśa in the translations of Buddhist texts whenever we have a parallel Sanskrit text. From the 7th century the old name Ki-pin was adopted by the Chinese to mean Kāpīśi but it is well-known that in this period the ancient denominations of the Han period and the periods of Six Dynasties were used topsy-turvey."

is closely connected with the problem of the first Śaka invasion of India, the identification has been mainly actuated by their views on the Śaka invasion. The first country in India to be occupied by the Śaka invaders was Ki-pin and as most of the scholars believe that the Śakas came by the North-Western route through Afganistan they are constrained to identify Ki-pin of the earlier period with Kapiśa or Kafirstan against the positive evidence of early records against it.

The Chinese accounts of Ki-pin, however, are so clear that they leave no room for confusion about the identity of Ki-pin and Kashmir so far as the early period (till 581) is concerned. As this identification is of great importance for the history of the Śaka period of Indian history, I propose to state the whole position again and collect such further information as had not been noticed before.

The oldest reference to Ki-pin occurs in the *Annals of the Former Han Dynasty*² where it is said: "The Great Yue-che went towards the west and made themselves masters of Ta-hia but the king of the Sai went southwards and made themselves masters of Ki-pin". It is generally admitted that Ta-hia was the same as ancient Tokharestan and occupied the fertile valleys of the upper Oxus. It was formerly in the hands of Sai or Śaka people but when the great Yue-ches ousted them from that land the Śakas went southwards and occupied Ki-pin.

The same *Annals of the Former Hans* also contains a more detailed account of Ki-pin. It says: "The capital of the kingdom of Ki-pin is the city of Siun-sien which is 12,200 li distant from Ch'ang-ngan. . . The kingdom of Wu-ch'a lies 2,250 li to the east. The kingdom of Nan-tou is nine days' journey to the north-east. The country joins the kingdom of the Great Yue-che on the north-west and Wu-yi-shan-li on the south-west".

About Wu-ch'a the same account says that Nan-tou is to its west. Ki-pin is stated to be 330 li to the south-west of Non-tou. It further says that Wu-yi-shan-li joins Ki-pin on its east. The account contains the following description of the country:

"The land of Ki-pin is flat and the climate mild and agreeable . . They cultivate the five grains, grapes and other fruits. They manure their gardens and fields. In the low and damp ground they grow rice. In winter they eat raw vegetables. The people are ingenious in

² For the English translation of the account Cf. Hirth-*China and the Roman Orient*,

carving, ornamenting, engraving and inlaying, in building palaces and mansions, weaving nets, ornamental perforation and embroidery and excell at cooking”.

*The Annals of the later Han dynasty*³ says—“From P’i-shan one goes south-west through Wu-hao, crosses the hanging bridge, passes through the kingdom of Ki-pin and at the end of 60 days’ march reaches Wu-yi-shan-li”. In another connection it says—“K’iu-tsio-K’io attacked Ngan-si, conquered Kao-fu, defeated P’u-ta and Ki-pin and subjugated their territories”.

The next Chinese text to mention Ki-pin is *Wei-liao*⁴. It was composed by Yu-Huan in the Wei period between 220 and 265 A. D. The text is now lost but long quotations from it are preserved in the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (*San kuo che*). The text gives a description of the different routes leading from the frontier of China to the west. Of these routes the southern one after passing through different countries among which Yu-t’ien (Khotan) is mentioned, traversed the Ts’ong-ling (the Pamirs) and over the *hien-tu* or hanging passages reached the country of the Great Yue-che. Among the dependencies of the Great Yue-che the text mentions Ki-pin, Ta-hia (Tokharestan) and Kao-fu (Kabul valley).

This account of Ki-pin is faithfully reproduced in all later Dynastic Histories. In the *Annals of the Northern Wei dynasty* reference is made to an embassy sent to Ki-pin in 452 A.D. The same text also says that Ki-pin is to the south-west of Po-lu at about 14,200 li from the capital of the Northern Wei. The country is surrounded on its four sides by mountain ranges and has a length of 800 li from west to east and 300 li from north to south. The capital is called Shen-kien.

From the dynastic histories therefore we get the following indications on the location of Ki-pin :

- i. Ki-pin was to the south-east of the kingdom of the great Yue-ches. The kingdom of Wu-ch’a also called Wu-sha or Wu-hao was 2,250 li to north-east, the kingdom of Nan-tou was at 9 days’ journey to the north-east and Wu-yi-shan-li was to its south-west.
- ii. The valley of Ki-pin was surrounded by hill ranges on four sides; it was a flat country having a length of 800 li from east to west and breadth of 300 li from north to south.

3 Chavannes—*T’oung-Pao*, 1907, pp. 191-192.

4 Chavannes—*T’oung-Pao*, 1905, p. 538.

- iii. The capital of Ki-pin was the city of Sun-sien or 'Shen-kien both of which meant, "beautiful, good-looking".

All these informations go back to the end of the Former Han period (202 B.C.-8 A.D.) and the Later Han period (25-220 A.D.). During the first period, the Great Yue-ches were in possession of Ta-hia or Tokharestan comprising the upper valley of the Oxus. Even in the later Han period when they extended their territories up to north-western India after the conquest of kingdoms in Afganistan, the ancient kingdom of Ta-hia continued to be considered as the proper kingdom of the Great Yue-ches. In fact, after their first conquest of India they began to govern India through a Viceroy. So the location of Ki-pin in these texts has to be studied with reference to Ta-hia. Ki-pin, if identified with Kashmir, would be exactly towards the south-east of the upper valley of the Oxus.

To the north-west of Ki-pin at a distance of about 2,250 li the Han annals place the kingdom of Wu-sha, Wu-ch'a or Wu-hao. Wu-sha was probably the correct form of the name. The distance is indicated in the *Annals of the Later Han dynasty* "60 days' Journey" up to Wu-yi-shan-li which was to the south-west of Ki-pin. The same Annals further says that Ki-pin was accessible from this region only by hanging bridges (*hien-tu*). Wu-sha has been identified with the kingdom of Tash-kurghan.

The kingdom of Nan-tou which was at a journey of 9 days to the north-east of Ki-pin is the country of Darada in the upper valley of the Indus. The ancient pronunciation of Nan-tou would correspond to something like Dar-da. This is the country which later Chinese writers from the time of Fa-hien mention as To-li or To-li-lo (Darada, Darel).

Wu-yi-shan-li which is placed to the south-west of Ki-pin is identified with Kandahar. Hirth was the first to show that the name is a transcription of Alexandria founded by Alexander in Afganistan. Wu-yi-shan-li of the Han Annals would best correspond, according to these scholars, to Kandahar. The kingdom of Kashmir probably included Gandhara just before the Yue-che conquest and extended in the south-west up to Kandahar.

The area of the valley of Ki-pin as given in these texts is also to be noted. It was surrounded by hills on all sides. The length from east to west is given as about 800 li which would be a little over 200 miles and the breadth, from north to south about 300 li which would

be a little less than 100 miles. This seems to agree roughly with actual area of Kashmir.⁵

The capital is called Sun-sien or Shen-kien both of which mean something like "beautiful or good looking". Such a name may be very well restored as Śrinagara. In fact the *Rājatarāṅgī* (I, verse 104) would have us believe that the city of Śrī-nagara was founded by king Aśoka.⁶

These indications almost clearly show that the Ki-pin of the *Annals* of the Former and Later Han dynasties cannot be anything but Kashmir. Its external boundaries might have been varying but they never included Kapiśa. Kao-fu of the Han *Annals* seem to have included the ancient Kapiśa. The four kingdoms which are mentioned in connection with the Yue-che conquest are Ta-hia (Tokharestan), Kao-fu (Kabul-Kapiśa region), Ki-pin (Kāśmīra-Gandhāra) and T'ien-chu i. e. India proper. The boundaries of Ki-pin discussed above do not agree with those of Kafirstan. We have also seen that the *Annals* of the Later Han dynasty while mentioning the conquests of Kuzulo Kadphises says: "he attacked Ngan-si, conquered Kao-fu, defeated P'u-ta and Ki-pin and subjugated their territories". The direction of the campaign was evidently from west to east. Ngan-si is Parthia, Kao-fu—the Kabul region, P'u-ta—Paktha or Paktues of the Greek writers corresponding to the territory of the Pathan tribes and Ki-pin—Kāśmīra-Gandhāra. If Ki-pin is identified with Kapiśa then it will have to be admitted that the conquest of Kuzulo Kadphises was confined to Afganistan and never extended to India proper.

A host of other documents belonging to the post-Han period clearly speak of the identity of Ki-pin and Kashmir. These documents are of three kinds: (1). Biographical accounts of some Chinese monks who had come to India; (2). Geographical and historical texts in Chinese and (3). Translations of Buddhist texts in Chinese.

5 This would give for Ki-pin of the Han period a circuit of 2200 li. This was the area of the valley alone. Hsuan-tsang (*On Yuan-Chwang*, I, p. 24) gives for Kapiśa an area of 4000 li and for Kashmir 7000 li.

6 The Chinese name of the capital occurs in three different forms. The first two forms—*Sun-sien* and *Shen-kien*—mean "beautiful, good-looking" and seem to be translations of a name like Śrī-nagara. The last form given in the records of the T'ang period is *Siu-sien*. All these may also be imperfect transcriptions of the name Śrinagara.

(1). *Biographical accounts of Chinese monks who came to India—*

- (a) *Che-mong*⁷—The Bhikṣu Che-mong came to India in 404 A. D. His original account of India is lost but a short summary is available from the Chinese sources. It runs as follows: "From Yu-t'ien (Khotan) he went south-west over a distance of 2000 li. When the ascent of the Ts'ong-ling (the Pamirs) was begun, nine of his companions went back. Che-mong with the rest went forward over a distance of 7500 li and arrived at the kingdom of Po-luen (Bolor). Then his Indian companion Tao-seng died.....Then gathering all their energy they advanced. Che-mong himself and four of his remaining companions then crossed the Indus (Sin-t'ou) and reached the kingdom of Ki-pin."
- (b) *Fa-yong*⁸—The monk Fa-yong came to India in 420 A. D. His route to India is described as follows: "He passed through different countries such as K'ieu-tse (Kucī) and Sha-lei (Kashgar). They ascended the Ts'ong-ling mountains and crossed the Snow Mountains. Vapour which blinds the eyes is very thick there, the glacier rises up to ten thousand li. Down below was a large river of which the current was quick as a shooting arrow. From the sides of the two mountains (on either side of the river) on the east and the west a rope was fixed which held a bridge. Ten men could pass together over it.....Going for three days after crossing the bridge) Fa-yong crossed still another snow mountain.....and going further reached the kingdom of Ki-pin. He worshipped there the bowl of Buddha, stayed there more than a year and learnt the language and the writing of India . . Then again going westwards he reached the river Sin-t'ou-na-t'i...crossed the river, went westwards and entered the kingdom of the Yue-che. He worshipped the Uṣṇīṣa of Buddha there.
- (c) *Song-yun*⁹—Song-yun came to India in 520 A. D. His

7 Chavannes—B. E. F. E. O, 1903, p. 432.

8 B. E. F. E. O., 1903, p. 435.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 415; p. 417, n. 8. Chavannes has summarised Song-yun's itinerary in this area as follows: "After visiting Mong-kie-li (Manglaor), capital of Udyāna, Song-yun and his companions went after 8 days' march to a place in the south-west where stood the stūpa commemorating the gift of his

account runs thus: "From Mong-kie-li (Manglaur, capital of Uḍḍiyāna) he went south-eastwards for eight days and reached the place where the Bodhisattva had offered his body to a tigress (Mahāban). Song-yun learnt that the king of Gandhāra was then fighting with the king of Ki-pin on the Indus. He therefore crossed the Indus to see him. After five days journey he came to Takṣaśilā (Taxila), then he recrossed the Indus, visited Fo-sha-fu (Shahbazgarhi), and the mount T'an-to (Viśvantara), then went to Puṣkalāvati, crossed the Kabul river and reached Puruṣapura (Peshawar).¹⁰

2. Geographical and historical texts in Chinese—

- (a) A famous geographical text in Chinese called *Shui-king*, compiled in the later Han period speaks about the course of various rivers including that of the Indus. In chapter I while speaking of the course of the Indus it says: "*The river flows south-wards by the north of Ki-pin*". A commentary of the same text, the *Shui king chu*¹¹ was

body to a tigress by the Bodhisattva. This stūpa, as we have said, is to be searched for in the region of Mahaban; Song-yun learnt that the king of Gandhāra was fighting on the western frontiers of Ki-pin (Kashmir). He therefore crossed the Indus and went to see him. When he left the latter, he went westwards and after five days' march reached Takṣaśilā. He then recrossed the Indus and visited Fo-sha-fu (Shahbazgarhi) and the T'an-t'o mountain connected with the legend of Viśvantara. From there he went to the stūpa where the Bodhisattva gave his eyes (Puṣkarāvati), crossed the Kabul-rud and at last reached Peshawar".

10 Two more Chinese travellers came to Ki-pin (Kashmir) in this period. Their biographies are preserved in the *Chu san tsang ki tsi* (chap. 15) and *Leang kao seng chuan*. The first Che-yen came to Ki-pin in 427 A. D. He put up in the monastery of Mo-t'ien-to-lo (Madhyantara) and learnt dhyāna from Buddhahadra. Che-yen died in Ki-pin. The other traveller was Hui-hien who came to Ki-pin between 457 and 464 and learnt dhyāna from a teacher named Dharma. Ki-pin in both the accounts stands for Kashmir which had become famous for dhyāna traditions in this period.

11 The *Shui-king* and its commentary have not yet been translated into any European language. Pelliot and Chavannes have made extensive use of the text: Cf. B. E. F. E. O. 1903, pp. 248ff. and *T'oung-Pao*, 1905 pp. 563ff. I am now engaged in preparing an English translation of the first chapter of the text in collaboration with my friend Mr. Hsiao-ling Wu. The first chapter alone contains much information on India and Central Asia. It contains quotations from a number of ancient accounts which are now lost.

compiled by Li Tao-yuan towards the end of the 5th century. It quotes from various works compiled before its time but now lost. Two of these works the *She-she-si-yu-ki* and the *Kuang-che* by Ko-yi-kong speak of the location of Ki-pin and the course of the Indus. The former says: "The river Sindhu after passing through Ki-pin, Kien-yue (Gandhāra), Mo-ho-la(?) and other countries enters the southern sea." The latter says: "The river flows by the north of the Nan-tou (Darada?) country . . 340 li to its south-west is the country of Ki-pin."¹²

- (b) Hui-yuan in his *Fan yi ming yi tsi*, a work of the 12th century says that Ki-pin is an altered pronunciation of the name of Kia-she-mi-lo (Kāśmīra). This note is reproduced from the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuan-tsang which both Julien and Beal have dropped through mistake in their translations of the latter work.¹³
- (c) The *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki*, a Buddhist Encyclopaedic compilation of the 13th century reproduces in Chap. XXXII an old map to illustrate the route followed by Hiuan-tsang in course of his journey. The map includes the geographical data not only of the time of Hiuan-tsang but also of the earlier period. To the south of the Ts'ong-ling (Pamirs and Hindukush) it locates almost in the same latitude from east to west the following countries: Fan-yen-na (Bamiyan), Kia-pi-she (Kapiśa-Kaḥṛīstan), Lan-po (Lampāka), Kien-t'o-lo (Gandhāra), *Ki-pin*, Ho-sho-lo (? mistake for Ho-lo-sho—Rājapura), Sho-lan-to (Jālandhara) and Kiu-lo-to (Kuluta). In his comment the author notes that *Ki-pin* is the old name of *Kia-she-mi-lo* (Kāśmīra) and that it is to the south-east of Wu-la-she (Urasā).¹⁴

3. Translations of Buddhist texts in Chinese—

Śaṅghabhadra in his Chinese translation of the *Sāmanāpāsādikā*

12 The *she-she si-yu-ki* referred to seems to have been the *Si-yu-ki* or Record of Western India which had been composed by She Tao-ngan (313-385 A. D.) but was lost later on. The first Chinese travellers to India including Fa-hien must have been guided by the account of Tao-ngan.

13 Pelliot, B. E. F. E. O. III, p. 340.

14 *Fo-tsu-t'ong-ki*, Chinese text-Shanghai edition, xxxv, 9, chap. 32, pp. 36-37.

always renders the name *Kāsmīra* of the original as *Ki-pin*. Saṅghabhadra translated the texts in 489 A. D.¹⁵

The Chinese translation of the *Milindapañha* belongs to the Tsin period (317-420 A. D.). In this translation too *Kāsmīra* of the original text is always rendered as *Ki-pin*.¹⁶

The *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu was translated for the first time into Chinese by Paramārtha of Ujjayinī in the second half of the 6th century A. D. The second translation of the same text was made by Hiuan-tsang towards the middle of the 7th century. Paramārtha always renders *Kāsmīra* of the original text as *Ki-pin* but Hiuan-tsang as *Kia-she-mi-lo*.¹⁷

4. *The Biography of Kumārajīva*¹⁸—The famous Buddhist monk Kumārajīva was born in Kucha in Central Asia. His father was an Indian and mother a Kuchean princess. He went to China towards the end of the 4th century and worked there till his death in 413 A. D. His biography in the Chinese Buddhist collections tells us that when he was a boy, his mother took him to *Ki-pin* for his education.

15 The text corresponds to Pali *Samantapāsādikā*. Wherever the *Samantapāsādikā* mentions *Kāsmīra*, the Chinese text gives *Ki-pin*. The *Nidānakathā* mentions *Kāsmīra* in connection with the journey of Majjhantika. The Chinese text, mentions *Ki-pin*, Cf. Taisho, 1462, p. 685 (b), 1. 19. It may be noted in this connection that the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa* refer to the various missions sent out to convert different countries. Madhyantika (Madhyantika or Majjhantika) was sent to *Kāsmīra*. He was the first to convert the country to Buddhism. The story of Madhyantika occurs in the *Aśokāvadāna*. There are two Chinese translations of this Avadāna, one the *A-yu-wang-chuan* which was translated by Fa-kin about 300 A. D. and the other, the *A-yu-wang-king* which was translated in 516 A. D. In regard to Buddha's prophecy on Madhyantika's journey to Kashmir, the first translation says: "They went to the kingdom of *Ki-pin*. When they arrived in *Ki-pin* Buddha told Ananda—"One hundred years after me a Bhikṣu named Mo-t'ien-ti (Madhyantika) will establish the law of Buddha in the kingdom of *Ki-pin*". The other translation says: "Ananda, do you see these mountains and wooded country. One hundred years after my Nirvāṇa there will be a Bhikṣu named Madhyantika in the kingdom of *Ki-pin*".—Przyłuski, *La légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 311 and p. 340.

16 See Demiéville—B. E. F. E. O. 1924, pp. 79, 169—where the Pali and corresponding Chinese texts are compared.

17 Comparison of the relevant passages of the original text of the *Abhidharmakośa* with the translations of Paramārtha and Hiuan-tsang was instituted by Lévi: J. As. 1895, p. 384;

18 Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, I, for the biography of Kumārajīva see pp. 178ff.

While coming to Ki-pin they crossed the Ts'ong-ling mountains and further on crossed the river Sin-t'ou (Sindhu) in order to reach the country. Their route was from the west to the east.

The texts discussed above are clear enough and need no comment. Che-mong, Fa-yong, Kumārajīva, all coming either from the west or from the Bolor side cross the Indus in order to reach Ki-pin. A westward march from Ki-pin brings Fa-yong to the capital of the Yue-ches i. e. the capital of Gandhāra, Puruṣapura, in order to worship the Uṣṇiṣa bone of Buddha. From Song-yun's statement also it is clear that the dominions of Ki-pin were confined to the eastern bank of the Indus. The king of Gandhāra was fighting with the king of Ki-pin in the latter's territories. Song-yun in order to reach the headquarters of the king of Gandhāra evidently took the following route from Manglaur. He went south-east along the valley of the Swat river, after eight days march reached Mahāban, crossed the Indus and met the king. He recrossed the Indus at Taxila and then directed his steps towards Puruṣapura.

The *Shui-king*, its commentary and all the sources from which the latter quotes, give a clear idea of the upper course of the Indus and the location of Ki-pin. Near about the source in the Darada country the Indus flows by the north of Ki-pin and then through the territories of Ki-pin and of Gandhāra flows southwards to the sea.

Ki-pin in all these cases could not have been anything but Kashmir. The Buddhist sources such as the *Fan-yi-ming-yi-tsi*, the *Fo-stu-t'ong-ki* and the translations of Buddhist texts mentioned above, all speak of the identity of the two names Ki-pin and Kāśmīra. The ancient pronunciation of the name Ki-pin also confirms the identification. In the pronunciation of the Han period Ki was pronounced Ka followed by some consonant which might have been an s. Pin was pronounced almost certainly pir or wir. Thus Ki-pin seems to have stood for Ka (s)-pir or Ka(s)-wir. This form of the name is also found in the old Greek accounts in which Kashmir is mentioned either as Caspiri or Kaspeira.¹⁹ Ki-pin was thus a correct phonetic transcription of the old name of Kashmir.

19 This was already suggested by Lévi (J. As. 1895, pp. 373-37) and Chavannes *T'oung-Pao*, 1895, p. 538, n. 4). Chavannes says: "The characters *Ki-pin* are the very transcription of the name which Ptolemy has transmitted to us under the form *Kasparia* and which was heard by the Chinese as *Kaspir*. From the Han period to the Northern Wei period the name *Ki-pin* is used only and always for *Kashmir*."

In the 4th and 5th centuries Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) was famous in the Buddhist countries of Central Asia as a great centre of Sanskrit culture. This was the reason for which Kumārajīva's mother brought her son to Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) for a perfect education in the Sanskrit lore in the third quarter of the 4th century. Kumārajīva while in China seems to have attracted many Buddhist scholars of Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) and between 381 and 442 A. D. it was the Buddhist scholars of Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) who played the most important part in the translation of the Buddhist texts into Chinese. The names of some of the most eminent of them who went from Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) were : Saṅghabhūti, Dharmayaśas, Punyatrāta, Buddhayaśas, Gautama Saṅghadeva, Vimalākṣa, Buddhajīva, Guṇavarman and Dharmamitra.²⁰ They all are mentioned in the Chinese texts as *natives of Ki-pin*. It is also said that some of them were personally acquainted with Kumārajīva during the latter's stay in Ki-pin and that they went to China at the latter's request. Besides, all of them belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism of which Kashmir was the only great centre in those days.

From the beginning of the 7th century the Chinese official records begin to distinguish Ki-pin from Kashmir and locate it in Afganistan. The reason of this confusion is not quite clear. It seems that the name of Kashmir began to be transliterated more faithfully as Kia-she-mi-lo. Hiuan-tsang also gives this transliteration but he was evidently following an established custom. The pronunciation of Chinese characters had also considerably changed since early times and it was impossible to recognise Kā'mīr in Ki-pin in the 7th century. It was therefore thrust upon the name of Kapiśa (Kia-pi-she), a country which had then attained political ascendancy. From the account of Hiuan-tsang we know that all kingdoms from Bamiyan up to Gandhāra were dependencies of Kapiśa in this period.

This confusion is exhibited for the first time in the *Annals of the Sui-dynasty* (581-617 A.D.) in which it is said that Ki-pin is the country of Ts'ao.²¹ The country of Ts'ao is the same as Ts'ao-kiuch'a of Hiuan-tsang, Jāguḍa of the Sanskrit texts and Ghazni of modern times.²² In the Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary called *Fan-yu-*

20 *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, I, pp. 160, 174, 176, 200, 335, 338, 363, 370 and 388.

21 Lévi-J. *As*. 1895, p. 375.

22 *Ts'ao-ku-ch'a* is a faithful phonetic transcription of the name Jāguḍa

tsa-ming which was compiled by Li-yen in the 8th century there is a small geographical section in which both Ki-pin and Kāśmīra are mentioned side by side. The Sanskrit name of Ki-pin is given as Karpīśaya which is evidently a mistake for Kapiśaya or Kapiśa. Kāśmīra is Kia-she-mi-lo.²³

The *Annals of the T'ang dynasty* mentions Ki-pin and Kāśmīra as two distinct countries.²⁴ The name of Kāśmīra is transcribed either as Kua-she-mi or as Kia-she-mi-lo. Ki-pin sent envoys with presents to the T'ang court several times between 619 and 758 A.D. In 750 a Chinese envoy named Wu-k'ong was sent to Ki-pin to escort the ambassador of the latter country. Wu-k'ong says: "Gandhāra is the eastern capital of Ki-pin. The king passes the winter there and in the summer he resides in Ki-pin. The respective climates of these two places prove good for his health." Hiuan-tsang also refers to the custom a century earlier while he says: "The kings of different kingdoms of India come to Kia-pi-she in the summer ; in the spring and the autumn they come to the country of Gandhāra."²⁵ These kings were evidently the kings of the countries that were dependencies of Kapiśa in this period.

It is therefore quite clear that Ki-pin mentioned in the *Annals* of the two Han dynasties and those of other dynasties up to the advent of the Sui in 581 and other contemporary records was identical with Kāśmīra. Ki-pin of the Sui and T'ang periods (581-907) is identical with Kia-pi-she i. e. Kapiśa.

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mentioned in the Sanskrit sources. Jāgudā corresponded to the region of Kandahar.—Watters—*On Yuan-chwang*, II, p. 347 and Lévi—*J. As.* 1915, pp. 83 ff.

23. Bagchi—*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, II, p. 347.

24. Chavannes—*Les Tou-kiue Occidentaux*, p. 130-132, 166-168.

25. Lévi and Chavannes—*J. As.* 1896., p. 161.

A lost commentary on the Nyāyamukha

The Nyāyamukha is considered to be one of the authoritative treatises on Logic composed by Diñnāga. Though it is lost in its original Sanskrit, it is, however available in Chinese of Hiuan-tsang and Yi-tsing. Prof. G. Tucci has studied and translated it into English (M. Walleser, *Jahrbuch*, 1930). No commentary upon it is known to have existed till now either from the Chinese or Tibetan sources. Prof. Tucci only notices a Chinese commentary by Shen-tai, a disciple of Hiuan-tsang. It has now been found that there had been a commentary on the Nyāyamukha written by one of the followers of Diñnāga. The *Pramāṇavārtikavṛtti* of Manorathanandin and the *Ṭippanī* of Vibhūticandra make frequent references to it.

According to the *Vṛtti*, Dharmakīrti attacks some co-religionists who are identified in the *Ṭippanī* with the author of the *Ṭikā* on Nyāyamukha and others, when he says in the verse : साभासोक्त्याव्युपपत्तेरपरिहाविडम्बना-(IV. 27). Similarly in the verse : जगादान्यः स्वयं श्रुतिम् (IV, 76) Dharmakīrti refers to the same *Ṭikākāra* (p. 440, n. 3). The *Vṛtti* means in all probability the same author by *ācāryīya* in the passage : यदप्याहुराचार्याः etc. (p. 438). Again in the verse iv, 122 Dharmakīrti, according to Vibhūticandra, criticises the opinions of the Nyāyamukha-*ṭikākāra* who is stated to have remarked that in the example : अचन्द्रः शशी सत्वात् the reason becomes *asādhāraṇa*, exclusive. We do not know who is meant by *ācāryīya* in the above passage until we turn to the *Vṛtti ad.*, II, 141 where the *ācāryīyas* and Śaṅkarasvāmin, etc. are placed in a juxtaposition (p. 159). It is well known that Śaṅkarasvāmin, is one of the direct disciples of Diñnāga and the author of *Nyāyapraveśa*.

If we take into account the contexts where the above references are made, none can entertain any doubt as to the validity of Vibhūticandra and Manorathanandin's statements. The first of the above passages refers to the opinion of the *Ṭikākāra*, etc. regarding the *paṅsavacana* which is not accepted as member of a syllogism by Diñnāga (Cf. JORM, XI, my paper on Manimekhalai p. 120). On the objection made by the Naiyāyikas to Diñnāga's theory, the *Ṭikākāra* proposed a reply which Dharmakīrti calls a pseudo reply and inapt (*parihāraṇa*). The second reference is made in connection with the necessity of the term *svayam* in Diñnāga's definition of thesis. The third as stated above refers to the opinion of the *Ṭikākāra* on the example : अचन्द्रः शशी सत्वात्. All these references

occur in the course of discussion of topics bearing upon the *parārthānumāna* which is the main subject of the Nyāyamukha. Only in the last place the passage relates to Ācāryīya's view of *kalpanā* in the definition of perception which is not directly connected with *parārthānumāna*. Dinnāga, however, has not excluded in his treatise a discussion on perception, *pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham* (NM. XV). It is interesting to note that according to Śaṅkarasvāmin, knowledge arising from the object-sense-contact which is devoid of *kalpanā*, is comparable to that of a child and which Kumārila calls *ālocanā* with same comparison. Kumārila further says, that knowledge has as its object neither *sāmānya*, nor *viśeṣa*, which some others (Vedāntins according to Pārthasarthihimśra) call *mahāsāmānya*. All these references put together would definitely prove the existence of a *Ṭikā* on the Nyāyamukha by Śaṅkarasvāmin.

This Śaṅkarasvāmin is to be distinguished from his namesake who has been frequently criticised by Kamalaśīla in his *Pañjikā*. However probably our author is meant when the *Pañjikā* says: *Śaṅkarasvāmi-prabhṛtayo vistareṇa doṣam uktavantaḥ* (p. 367). So far we had no knowledge of such a treatise of Śaṅkarasvāmin the existence of which it has been now possible to prove. It is most regrettable that this *Ṭikā* has been deprived of even the privilege of other treatises which though lost in their original garb are available either in Tibetan or Chinese translations.

The *Pañjikā* cites two passages from the *Vṛtti* portion of Nyāyamukha on pp. 372 and 411, of which only the first citation has been noticed by Prof. Tucci. The second passage (p. 411) which corresponds to the Nyāyamukhavṛtti *ad.*, I runs as follows: आचार्योक्तो—“यन्नाप्यसाधारणत्वात् अनुमानाभावे शाब्दप्रसिद्धेन विरुद्धेनार्थेनापोद्यते यथा अचन्द्रः गङ्गा सत्त्वादिति नासौ पन्न” इति । Note Dharmakīrti's comment on this passage in his *Vārtika*, IV. The *Pañjikā* again mentions twice on pp. 312 and 339 a treatise called *Hetumukha* and also cites a small line: हेतुमुखे निर्दिष्टम्—“अज्ञेयं कल्पितं कृत्वा तद्वयवच्छेन ज्ञेयेऽनुमानम्” इति । While mentioning it a second time (p. 411) the *Pañjikā* fathers its authorship on the *Lakṣaṇakāra* which title has been several times applied to Dinnāga by Kamalaśīla and Śāntarakṣita (vide e.g., pp. 368 and 372, the author of *Pramāṇasamuccaya*). We do not know till now any work of this name from the existing Chinese and Tibetan collections. Are we to take for granted that it is one of the works of Dinnāga and other Ācāryas that have passed into oblivion?

REVIEW

A DICTIONARY OF MO-SO HIEROGLYPHICS compiled by Li Lin-ts'an, Memoire of National Central Museum, Series B, No. 2, Szechwan, 1944. XXIV + 208 Pages.

It is mostly agreed that the days of Terrien de Lacouperie, Laufer and Bacot in the Moso studies have been entirely superseded since Rock's writings appeared. It is now safe to say that the day of Rock may also very soon be passed after this Dictionary has been published. Bacot gives in his *Les Mo-So* not more than three hundred seventy hieroglyphics and nothing has been done to analyze or interpret their structures at all. Rock's dictionary is, so far as the reviewer knows, but announced and has not been accomplished yet. From the other works written by him, we can easily see that he is apparently not familiar with Chinese etymology and the like, so that we can hardly hope to have satisfactory explanations in his coming dictionary. In collecting his hieroglyphics so numerous and elucidating each of the hieroglyphics in such detail, Mr. Li, the author of this Dictionary, has shown his ability in surpassing his predecessors in quality as well as in quantity.

These superiorities being so apparent, it is needless to say that the aim of this review will be confined to some criticisms, although they might be of minor importance. First, in some cases the classification, is rather complicated. At the first glance, the eighteen categories established by the author, seem very definite and somewhat like Champollion's classification for the Egyptian hieroglyphics; but as soon as we examine in detail, we find that they are entirely not so intelligible. Moso hieroglyphics are sometimes got into shape from two elements, one is its signific, and the other its phonetic, just as the 'phonetic compounds' (in Wieger and Karlgren's terminology) in Chinese. In classifying them we cannot do better than follow the Chinese lexicographies which place the 'phonetic compounds', as a rule, under what are their significs. Now the author arranges the hieroglyphics nos. 338 dæ] 466 tw] and 467 tw] under the category III which has, as the Prefatory Note says, something to do with human natures, relations and movements. As the author has already mentioned that 338 means 'foundation', 466 'to make tea' and 467 'to fix up the cooking pan' and that those three

human figures in the upper part are really nothing but their phonetics we wonder why he did not include 338 in the category II (about geographical phases), 466 in IX (relating to eating and drinking) and 467 in VIII (about objects made and used by human beings) respectively. Similar things such as no. 691 kwaŋg^w 'middle' belonging to category V (about birds), 941 ndz^h 'to sing' to VII (about plants), 1100 ngo⁺ 'to divide' to VIII, 1420 taŋko⁺ 'to respond' to X (about clothes and decorative pieces), etc. are too many to be exhaustively enumerated. Besides, the treatment of those of which two or more elements are pure phonetics, somewhat like the so-called 'false-borrowing' in Chinese, seems to be not careful. He classes no. 218 h^w + h^w 'charcoal' (combination of 612 h^w 'teeth' and 214 h^w 'lake') into category II, 1118 moŋ k^w 'to eat the food' (combination of 1116 moŋ 'winnowing-shovel' and 674 k^w 'foot') into VIII, etc. simply because a certain element of those phonetics belongs to the category in question. It is impossible to find what is the author's standard here, as the former follows the second phonetic while the latter, the first phonetic. It will be observed from the above that the author is used to lump these inconsequent things together. On the other hand, those things, which are really related to each other, are contrarily separated by the author. As we have duplicate in the meaning 'to make tea', but one belongs to category II (no. 205 t^w and the other to III (no. 466). Similarly we have four scripts in the meaning 'difficult', but the first belongs to category III (no. 401 ndz^h) and the rest belong to IX (no. 1270, 1280 and 1282 ndz^h). It is true that the Moso hieroglyphics contain at least four different kinds in their nature, e. g. 1. pictographics, 2. ideographics, 3. ideophonetics and 4 pure phonetics, yet we are still able to call them, as a whole, ideographics (of course, the term ideographic used here is in its broader sense), because the latter two are so irregular and have not developed into systematic or alphabetic writings. Judging from these we are inclined to say that the classification of the dictionary will suit their nature at least equally well, if not better, when we take their semantic grouping as a criterion.

Secondly, clearer and more accurate explanations are still required with respect to certain hieroglyphics. For the explanations not quite clear in the dictionary, we wish to take two illustrations. Under no. 632 nw⁺ 'heart', the author tells us only 'drawing the shape of heart' and 640 t^{sur} 'lungs' only 'drawing the heart concealed by the lungs'. To us it seems that some words would be added for the purpose of

making them clear. With 632, we suggest that 'the two sides are the shape of lungs 'whereas with 640' the two elements heart and lungs are quite the same as the former, but different in their sizes. In the former, the heart is larger than the lungs and in the latter, just the reverse occurs'. It was known to the author that there are some defects in their pictorial representations. The creators of these hieroglyphics, however, sometimes cannot help adding or changing something to facilitate their expressions, if no particular feature of the objects, to which they are drawing, can be caught. Lexicographers, sometimes have to treat them more explicitly. Also three hieroglyphics may be taken for example of inaccurate explanations. With no. 480 $\text{x} + \text{p}'\text{u}$ 'to sow the five grains' he says thus 'taking the wheat to indicate the sound of five grains'. With 1303 $\text{s}^{\text{u}} + \text{bu} + \text{p}^{\text{e}} + \text{p}'\text{u} + \text{t}\text{s}'\text{Ar}$ 'ancestors' he says thus 'the (generation) transcribes the last syllable'. Especially with the lower part of no. 485 $\text{se} + \text{me}$ $\text{g} + \text{to}$ 'to pray the god respectfully', he just says: 'to make bow to indicate its meaning' and again 'to carry things on the back, used here as phonetic'. These reveal the fact that the author does not pay much attention to discriminating whether the elements are significs or phonetics, though in some cases, here and there, they have been noticed. It goes without saying that the last one is a phonetic while the other two, e. g. the 'wheat' in 480 and the 'generation' in 1303, are really significs. In order to examine their nature more accurately, an improvement in the quoted explanations seems to be needed.

Thirdly, the Moso priests are accustomed to use the hieroglyphics as phonetic symbols, with which the Chinese method of borrowing is more intimate. A picture of horse might be 'powerful'. A figure of meat probably be 'yellow'. One will not understand what those hieroglyphics mean, if one is not acquainted with the rule. While a great deal of very useful examples in these borrowings have been recorded by the author, they are still not sufficient. For instance, under no. 1217 $\text{l} + \text{d}\text{z}\text{i}$ 'ladder' we may note that the two syllables sometimes used for 'trousers' $\text{l} +$ and 'clothes' $\text{d}\text{z}\text{i} +$ respectively and under 1482 $\text{ty} +$ 'to beat' that 'sometimes used for gradation'. Even for those of which the borrowings have already been mentioned, there is room for additional illustrations. Thus, we have not found the meaning 'to revolve' under no. 1038 ko 'ginger' and 'place' under 1039 $\text{ku} +$ 'garlic'. It is more interesting to observe that phonetic interchanges between the original pronunciations and their borrowing uses are more free than those of Chinese borrowings. We have seen in this

Dictionary that a certain middle tone can be used sometimes as high and sometimes as low (see nos. 166, 1357 and 1473), even the surd initial as sonant (no. 751) or the front vowel as back (no. 872). Yet we still have the sonant initial using as aspirated surd (no. 1535 $\text{q}^{\text{h}} +$ 'one' as $\text{t}^{\text{h}} +$ 'demonstrative that') or the aspirated initial as unaspirated (no. 1287 $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{swa} +$ 'rice' as $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{swa}$ 'married man'). It would be more satisfactory, if the author could treat them in more detail.

In addition to the above, the dating of another script of Moso, the syllabics, proposed by the author, seems to have plenty of room for doubt. The author, however, is of the same opinion as Mr. Fang Kuo-yu, in claiming that the syllabics were derived from the hieroglyphics and gives three reasons for determining the problem. It is true that his theories, as a result of his long investigations, cannot be questioned by us, who have had not the chance of working in the field. But there are many serious difficulties in his observations. First, he mentions that the syllabics are only a mixture of Moso, Tibetan and Chinese with a sprinkling of other foreign elements and that each word has often more than ten syllabic forms. Of course, we have not the idea to deny these facts, yet we believe that they are by no means proved as expected by the author. As we clearly know that in the Lolo script, which is believed to be invented at least before the Ming Dynasty, similar phenomena are easily found, especially in Yunnan. Just relying on these phenomena, we then safely believe that the latter has passed through a long development. If one could not neglect the positive proof in the latter, one cannot of course consider the Moso syllabics as late as the author imagined. The second reason emphasized by the author is that according to a migration diagram constructed by him, it clearly shows that the development of the pictographic script took place probably when they arrived at the lower course of the Wu-liang River and that the syllabic script did not appear till part of the migrants settled in Li-chiang. Unfortunately, we take just the opposite view. The migration wave shown in the diagram is sound, nevertheless it does not indicate that the syllabics are later than the hieroglyphics. Most of the tribal migration histories tell us that the oldest cultural things, which are already extinct in their original home, may always be preserved by those branches, which go furthest from it. The same phenomenon is also to be found in the Lolo language, in which the phonetic structure in the Phunoi dialect of Phongsaly as recorded by Henri Roux is much older than that of Szechwan. Consequently, the author is here

somewhat putting the cart before the horse. The last reason is the weakest one. He based on local legends the belief that the invention of the syllabics occurred on the day after the native chieftain was substituted and that the compilation of the syllabic sūtras is not earlier than the transitional period from the Ch'ing to the Republic. This seems not worth discussing. Only referring to those syllabic manuscripts, which have been in the possession of the John Rylands Library of Manchester some forty years, we warrant that the legends quoted here are perfectly unreliable. We cannot take them as historical data, just as we cannot take the legends among the Lolo of Kweichow and Yunnan to believe that the Lolo scripts in those two places were invented by Confucius and Lao-tse respectively. The author further takes some syllabics to prove their derivation from the hieroglyphics. As a matter of fact, the relation between those two scripts pointed out here is not so clear and credible. Some of the scripts existed in Lolo too. Judging from their racial affinities we are not in a position to say immediately that these are merely occasionally parallel. In a word, the question of the syllabics remains to be a puzzle and for solving the problems, the stronger authorities are still exacted.

In conclusion the reviewer would like to express his deep gratitude to the author for giving us so abundant materials and letting us know our previous errors in several respects of the Moso studies.

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Ptolemy, the Niddesa and the Br̥hatkathā

The compilers of the Pāli Buddhist canon have admitted a commentary, the Niddesa in the collection of scriptures. The work which bears this title is a partial commentary of another sacred text, which itself constitutes a collection of different small texts. The Niddesa is divided into two sections: the Mahā Niddesa "the large exposition" is a commentary of the eighteen suttas of the group that constitutes Aṭṭhakavagga of the Sutta Nipāta; the Culla Niddesa "the small exposition" is a commentary on the eighteen pieces of the Pārāyana-vagga. While explaining the seventh piece of the Aṭṭhakavagga (the Tissa-Metteya-sutta), the author of the Mahā Niddesa meets with the word *pariḷissati* "he is tormented" in the seventh verse and this word gives him the occasion for a long digression in which he enumerates the different categories of torments. He begins by giving a long list of torments in which the amateur of emotions would find things to shudder at; he then passes on to other kinds of torments. "Or still more, under the influence of desires which dominate his soul, in quest of pleasures, he sails on the great ocean either frozen or burning, a prey to the mosquitos, the gnats, the winds, the sun, and the serpents and suffering from hunger and thirst; he goes to Gumba, Takkola Takkaṣilā, Kālamukha, Maraṇapāra, Vesuṅga, Verāpatha, Java, Tamali, Vaṅga, Elavaddhana, Suvaṇṇakūṭa, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Tambapaṇṇi, Suppāra, Bharukaccha, Surattah Aṅgaṇeka, Gaṅgana, Paramagaṅgana, Yona, Paramayona, Allasanda, Marukan-tāra, Jaṇṇupatha, Ajapatha, Meṇḍhapatha, Saṅkupatha, Chattapatha, Vaṁsapatha, Sakuṇapatha, Mūsikapatha, Daripatha, Vettādhāra and thus again he is tormented, much tormented."

The same digression reappears almost in an identical form in the Mahā Niddesa; while commenting on the fifteenth sutta of the Aṭṭhakavagga (Attadaṇḍa) the author comes across the expression *sallena otinno* "pierced with the arrow" in the 5th verse and he explains it thus: "penetrated, touched, killed, hit, struck by the arrow of the passion, in quest of pleasures he sails on the great ocean etc. to Daripatha, to Vettādhāra." It was therefore a stereotyped development to which the author of the Mahā Niddesa had access and which he utilised whenever there was an occasion for it. The learned editors of the Mahā Niddesa Messrs de La Vallée Poussin and E. J.

Thomas, have not failed to refer in this connection to two lists of geographical names contained in the Milindapañha. The first (p. 359 of the text) is only an abbreviated variant of the same list: "It is thus, Oh, great king, that a rich captain, after paying the exact dues at the port, sails on the great ocean and goes to Vaṅga, Takkola, Cīna, Sovira, Suratṭha, Alasanda, Kolapaṭṭana, Suvannabhūmi or to all other ports on the sea...." The other text (p. 331) has only a distant connection with the text of the Mahā Niddesa; Nāgasena gives to the king the example of a contractor who wants to build a big city. "And then he would come to this city in order to settle the people of Saka, Yavana, Cīna, Vilāta, Ujjeni, Bharukaccha, Kāsī, Kosala, Aparānta, Magadha, Sāketa, Suratṭha Pāṭheyya, Kotumbara, Madhurā, Alasanda, Kasmīra, Gandhāra...." To these two lists may be added a third (p. 327) which is shorter and in which a part of the same names may be found: "Saka and Yavana, Cīna and Vilāta, Alasanda, Nikumba, Kāsī and Kosala, Kasmīra, Gandhāra...."

The series of ports enumerated by the Mahā Niddesa has been developed as an outline of a vast *peripplus* which starts from the Far East, touches the coasts of India and loses itself much farther in the west. If we find in it names which are still little known or ignored, we find also names that are sure landmarks such as Java, Suppāra (still called Sōpārā, a little to the north of Bombay) Bharukaccha (Broach, near the mouth of the Narmada), Suratṭha (Surat, at the mouth of the Tapti), Yona (the Hellenic world), Alasanda (Alexandria).

Gumba, the first name in the list is extremely obscure; the form even is uncertain and the choice of the editors has varied between Gumba (p. 154) and Gumbha (vr. Kumbha; p. 414). The enigmatic Gumba-Kumba reminds us of the not less enigmatic name Nikumba of the Milinda (p. 327) mentioned between Alasanda and Kāsī-Kosala.

The second name, Takkola, is found also in the Milinda (p. 359) where it is preceded by Vaṅga, Bengal, and followed by Cīna, China, either continental or maritime. Attempts have not been wanting to connect it with *Τακολα ἑμποροῦν* "Takola the port of commerce" which Ptolemy places on the coast of trans-Gangetic India, in the country of the Chersonesus of Gold (VII, 2, 5). Many attempts have also been made to fix exactly the position of Takola on the littoral. The question aroused a new interest since Mr. Kanakasabhai suggested (*Madras Review*, August, 1902) the identity of Ptolemy's Takola with Talaitakkolam which King Rajendra Cola I (1012-1042) mentions in

the now famous list of his conquests beyond the sea; Talaitakkolam occurs there by the side of Madamāliṅgam, Ilāmurideśam and Māṇak-kavāram. M. Coëdès (*Le royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., XVIII, 6, 1918), recognises in Mādamāliṅgam, the country which is also known as Tāmbraliṅga, situated immediately to the south of the Isthmus of Kra. Ilāmurideśam is certainly Sumatra; Māṇak-kavāram is equally surely the group of the islands of Nicobar. Since 1896 I drew attention to a Chinese text which seems to bear on Takkola (*Deux peuples méconnus*, in the *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, p. 176): the notice on India incorporated in the Annals of the Leang dynasty records the voyage of an ambassador sent by Fu-nan to India in the times of the Wu dynasty (222-277). M. Pelliot has given an improved translation of this passage (*Le Fou-nan*, BEFEO., III, p. 80) which I reproduce here: "The ambassador left the port of T'ou-kiu-li of Fu-nan and followed a large bay of the sea; right to the north-east he entered many a bay and passed by the coast of many a kingdom. At the end of about one year, he reached the mouth of the river of India." If T'ou-kiu-li (投 拘 利) corresponds to Takōla in spite of the difficulty caused by the initial sonant (t'ou=du) of the Chinese transcription, Takōla served as a port to Fu-nan for her relations with India in course of the 3rd century. M. Pelliot pointed out later on (BEFEO., IV, p. 386) another text relating to the same embassy where the name of the port of embarkation has been reduced to Kiu-li. Ptolemy's map which places Takōla to the south of the strip of land that connects trans-Gangetic India with the peninsula of Golden Chersonesus, seems to show clearly that the site of this port should be searched for on the western coast of the Malay peninsula to the south of the Isthmus of Kra. In fact this is the most generally accepted solution (*Gerini*, JRS., 1897, p. 572; St. Andrew St. John—*Actes du XIe Congrès International des Orientalistes à Paris* 2e section, p. 230 ff.; Blagden, *ibid.*, p. 235 ff.; Pelliot, BEFEO., IV, p. 386). However the archaeologists of Burma obstinately try to localise Takōla in the delta of the Irrawaddy or rather the Sittang, near Bilin; the fact is that the maps of the 16th and 17th centuries mark in this region a port named Tagalla or Tagaila (*Forchhammer, Notes on Early History and Geography of British Burma*, II, 7; *Taw Sein-Ko, Indian Antiquary*, XXI, 1892, p. 383; *Arch. Survey of Burma*, Report 1909-10, p. 14; 1915-16, p. 29; 1916-17, p. 27; 1917-18, p. 28; 1918-19, p. 25; Kanakasabhai, *Madras Review*, 1902, p. 251 adopts this view; also V. Smith, *Early History of India*,³ p. 466).

The etymology of the name Takôla has been discussed. St. Andrew St. John has suggested Mon “*t’kau-lah*” which would mean “flat island.” Forchhammer starting with the admitted identity of Takôla=Taikkala superimposes on it still another identity: Taikkala = Pali Goḷamattikā of the inscription of Kalyani (dated 1476) and explains: *taik* (Burmese or Mon)=*mattikā* (Pali) “brick or earth construction” and *kalā*=*goḷa*, the “Gauḍa” or the Bengalis. Taw Sein-Ko communicates (*Rep.* 1917-18, 58) an interpretation furnished by Rev. Ba Te of the American Baptist Mission according to which *Takala* means in Palaung “a westerner;” “the Palaungs are a branch of Mon race and it may be supposed that they knew Taikkala and its history.”

They seem to have lost sight of the fact that *takṣola* is a regularly attested Sanskrit word. It is true that the word is not found in the ancient Sanskrit dictionaries such as Amara, Hemacandra etc. It should be however noted that one of the manuscripts utilised by Ganapati Śāstri for his edition of the *Amara Kośa* with the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin and the gloss of Sarvānarya (the manuscript ३) has *takṣolam* instead of *kakṣolam* in the verse II, 6, 129-130 of Amara (II, 6, 3, 31 of the edition Loiseleur -Deslongchamps):

atha koḷakam

kakṣolakan kośaphalam

These three synonymous words mean bdellium, according to Loiseleur; the compilers of the Petersburg Dictionary, more wise, remain satisfied by interpreting it as “a certain fragrant substance.” Kṣīrasvāmin comments on the word thus: *koḷam eva koḷakam. karkante ’tra karkah. koḷati samīstyāyati karkolam. kośe phalāny asya kośaphalam*. But the manuscript reads: *karkante ’tra karkah koḷati samīstyāyati takṣolam*. And the glosser Sarvānanda explains without any hesitation: *koḷakatrāyan karpūragandhitakṣolaphale* “the three words *koḷaka* etc. apply to the fruit of *takṣola* which has the smell of camphor.” The Rāmāyaṇa, III, 35, 22 mentions the *takṣola* along with “sweet smelling fruits” while it describes the forests situated on the sea shores which Rāvaṇa saw at the time of going to rejoin Mārīca:

agurūṇāṁ ca mukhyānāṁ vanāny upavanāni ca

takṣolānāṁ ca jātyānāṁ phalānāṁ ca sugandhināṁ.

This is at least the reading found in the Bombay and the Southern recensions: the Bengal text, reproduced by the Gorresio edition, rehandles the verse by substituting *kakṣola* for *takṣola* (III, 39, 22):

vanāni ca suramyāṇi kakṣolānāṁ tvacasya ca...

The alternation *takṣola-kakṣola* which we saw in the *Amarakośa*

and in the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin reappears here also; we have already dealt with this alternation between *t* and *k* in the initial of words in another paper (*JA.*, 1923, II, p. 30 ff.). The commentator Rāma, in his annotations of the Rāmāyaṇa, *ad loc.*, contents himself by explaining it as: "the takkola is a kind of tree which has sweet smelling fruits (*takḥkolāḥ sugandhiphalāḥ vṛkṣaviśeṣāḥ*)."
Keśavaśvāmin, in his Nānārthāhṛnavasamkṣepa (edited by Ganapati Śāstrī, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*) compiled in the 12th-13th century, gives the word *takḥkola* as one of the meanings of the word *kola* used in neuter (Nānālīṅgādhyāya, V. 288 and ff.):

ḥkolam punar napī

vyoṣe 'rdhakarṣe takḥkole śuṇṭhyām ca badarīphale

Thus he adopts and confirms, so far as the passage of Amara quoted above is concerned, the readings of the ms. ३. However for the history of lexicography, the work of Keśavaśvāmin is an extremely rich repertory. In another passage of the same chapter (v. 874) he uses the word *takḥkola* again for explaining the word *bola* used in neuter:

klivam punar bolam iti dhvaniḥ

sājye madhuni takḥkole

The Petersbourg Dictionary does not indicate all these different meanings; it knows the word *bola* only in masculine as given by Amara II, 9, 105; besides it adopts the reading *vola* prescribed by Kṣīrasvāmin. As regards *takḥkola* itself, the Petersbourg Dictionary, in its first edition, gives the solitary reference to the Nighaṇṭaparakāśa of Bapu Gangadhara with the botanical equivalent: *pimenta acris*; this equivalent is reproduced in PW² with an additional reference to the verse of the Rāmāyaṇa already quoted by me. According to the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin (cited by Ganapati Śāstrī on Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, II, 29), *takḥkola* would be another name of *bhadraśrīya* while other interpreters make *bhadraśrīya*, camphor, the śrīvāsaka or red sandal:

ḥcecit ḥarpūram ity āhus takḥkolam iti cāpare

śrīvāsakam tathā ḥcecit ḥcecit lohītacandanam

The word *takḥkola* is found in Pali also, specially in the formula of the type of *tāmbulataḥkolakādīni pupphāni adāsī* (Jātaka, I, 291 and passim) where it is associated with some scented ingredients of vegetal origin, betel leaves, etc. Childers mentions it and refers to the Abhidhānappadīpikā v. 304. But in fact this verse is a Pali transcription of the Amarakośa verse, II, 6, 129-130; Loiseleur, II, 6, 3, 31; it therefore brings an additional evidence in support of the reading *takḥkolam*

as preferred to *kaḥkḥolaḥam* found in the text of Amara. Childers accepts the meaning "bdellium" furnished by Loiseleur Deslongchamps but he adds: "A special kind of perfume brought from the bays of Kakkola. The corresponding Sanskrit word is *kaḥkḥola*. The Singhalese form is *taḥul*, according to Subhūti. For the consonantal dissimilation, cf. *ḥiḥpillika tiḥicchatī, phāsulika*." The new Pali Dictionary of the Pali Text Society only reproduces the interpretation given by Childers. Trenckner in his *Notes sur le Milinda-pañha*, published four years after the publication of the Childers' Dictionary, in 1879 (and reprinted in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1908) quotes the word *taḥkḥola* as an example of consonantic dissimilation (p. 59, *JPTS.*, p. 108): "...*taḥkḥola* (Abhidh., v. 304) corresponds to *kaḥkḥola* in the parallel verse of the Amarakoṣa; in the *Milinda*, it is also the name of a country, perhaps Sanskrit *karkoṭa*..." E. Muller in his *Index des noms propres en Pali* (*JPTS.*, 1888) s.v. Takkola, reproduces the same suggestion on its connection with *karkoṭa*. W. Geiger in his recent work on Pali (*Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*), on the chapter on Dissimilations §47 repeats the views of Childers and Trenckner and makes the cautious suggestion: "*Taḥkḥola*, bdellium, Abhp. 304 *kaḥkḥola*; however Sanskrit has also *taḥkḥola*; in Singhalese *taḥul*. The name of the country *Taḥkḥola* Milp. 359, 28, is perhaps—*Karkoṭa*." A passing observation may be made in this connection that the name of the country of Karkoṭa is found only once in the *Mahābhārata* VIII, 2066, in a list of depraved people (*durdharma*) such as *Kāraskara*, *Māhiṣaka* *Kaliṅga*, *Kerala* and *Vīraka*, who are mostly the people of South India. The catalogue of the people given by *Varāha Mihira* in his *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* also enumerates among the people of the south the *Karkoṭas* after the *Bharukaccha* and before *Taṅkana* and *Vanavāsi* (*Banavasi* on the frontier of Mysore and Kanara). Some manuscripts have the readings *kaḥkḥoṭa* and *kaṇḥkaṭa* and it is this last which the editor, H. Kern, has admitted in his text.

The name *taḥkḥola* survives as the name of a plant in the modern languages. The *Hindī-Śabdasāgara* mentions it and explains it as "a special kind of tree." *The Vernacular list of trees, shrubs and woody climbers in the Madras Presidency* by A. W. Lushington, Madras, 1915, attests the word in Tamil and Telugu. Let me reproduce here the references and identifications furnished by this excellent work:

In Tamil: 1. *takkolam* (*Dictionnaire tamoul de Visvanatha Pillai*; Mac Leane, 385; Riddell, 112, corr.) *Eugenia jambolana*. 2. *takkolam* (*Dict. tamoul*, Mac Leane, 677; Pfeleiderer, 190) *Piper Cubeba*.

In Telugu: 1. takkola (*Anantapur District*) *Clerodendron phlo-moides*. 2. Takkolamu (*Dict. télougou de Sankaranaraany*) *Cleroden-dron inerme*. 3. Takkolamu (*Elliot's Flora Andhrica; Anantapur Dis-trict*) *Clerodendron holomoides*. 4. Takolapu (*Elliot's Flora Andhrica*) *Clerodendron inerme*.

The Malayalam and Uriya lists do not mention anything under either *takḥkola* or analogous headings.

M. Pelliot has ingeniously proposed to discover the mention of takkola in a Chinese text to which Hirth and Rockhill had drawn atten-tion (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 222) without being able to bring out the entire significance. The *You-yang -tsa-tsu*, compiled between 850 and 860, which borrows its information from the *Pen-ts' ao-she-yi* that was compiled between 713 and 741 says: "The white cardamom, *pai-tou-k'u* (白頭骨) comes from the country of *K'ie-ku-lo* (憐吉羅) where it is called *to-ku* (多骨); it has the appearance of banana trees; the leaves resemble those of the *tu-jo*; they are eight or nine feet in length and do not fade either in the summer or in the winter. The flowers are clearly yellow. The grains form bunches like the grapes. When they first come out they are clearly green but as soon as they are ripe they be-come white; they are reaped in the seventh month." M. Pelliot has noted that the ancient pronunciation of *to-ku* (多骨) was *ta-kut* and has proposed a hypothetical restoration of the name as **takur*. He has further added (*T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 455): "As a hypothesis I cannot help pointing out a possible connection between *takur*, the native name of cardamom, and the name of the ancient port of Takola quite just as there is an etymological identity between *qaqola* and the country of Qaqola. In the eighth century. Ch'en Ts'ang-ki also gives *Kia-kiu-lo* (*lak*) (迦利刺) as a foreign name of nutmeg. That is in fact its Sanskrit name: *kaḥkola* or rather its derivative *kaḥkolaka* noted in the same sense by Böhtlingk. In *BEFEO.*, III, 409, Dr. P. Cordier gives as the equivalent of *kaḥkolam Lavanga scandens*." M. Cædès quoting this note of M. Pelliot himself adds with an irrecusable com-petence: "It should be also noted that the traditional translation of the Pali word *takḥkolam* in Cambodian and Siamese is *kravañ* carda-mom." It seems clear that Sarvānanda, the commentator of the *Amarakoṣa* has interpreted *takḥkola* as a name of cardamom since he explains Amara II, 6, 129-130 *atha kolakam/karkolakam* (*tar-*) *koṣa-phalam* as *kolakatrāyam karpūragandhitakḥkolaphale* "the three words apply to the takkola fruit which has the scent of camphor." The cam-phorous scent is a characteristic of cardamom (*Materia Medica* of

India by R. N. Khory and N. N. Katrak) while the *kakḥola-lavanga scandens* has for characteristic the smell of turpentine (*ibid.*, p. 133).

The question of the alternance between *t* and *k*, already noticed in the course of the present researches, occurs once again and in a more concrete form. If the restoration of M. Pelliot is exact and the observation of M. Cœdès seems to confirm it well, *takḥola* in the sense of nutmeg would be a product exported from the country of Kakkola. The white cardamom of the Chinese text is the *amomum cardamomum* of the Botanists, the cardamom in bunches which is the indigenous product of Cambodia, Siam and Java. The country of *K'ie-ku-lo* which produces it, is also a subequatorial country. The itinerary of Kia Tan, compiled between 785 and 805, mentions a country named *Ko-ku-lo* (哥谷)=Kakola which certainly belongs to the Malaysian region but it is difficult to locate its exact site. Messrs Hirth and Rockhill (*Cha-Ju-kua*, p. 11, n. 10) agree with Gerini (*Researches*.....444, n.2) in placing it at Kelantan or at Ligor. M. Pelliot (*T'oung Pao*, 1919, p. 455), for reasons that appear to me to be decisive, rejects this localisation and adds: "For whatever identification that might be proposed in course of further researches, it is on the western coast of Malay peninsula that the *Ko-ku-lo* of Kia Tan should be searched for." I believe, I have found another factual index in the history of the Song (Chavannes *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, 1896, p. 52)—the monk Fā yu desiring to return to India from China got from the imperial court letters of recommendation for *San-fo-ts'i*, *Ko-ku-lo* (葛古羅), *Ko-lan* and Western India. *San-fo-ts'i* is Palembang, on the south-eastern extremity of Sumatra; *Ko-lan* is Quilon on the coast of Travancore on the south-western extremity of India; *Ko-ku-lo*, placed between these two ports as an intermediate step, must be the last point where the boats touched the land before sailing on the high Indian Ocean towards the west. It seems to be quite difficult to isolate this *Ko-ku-lo*, *K'ia-ku-lo*, *Kakula*, *Kakola* from the port of *Kakula*, *Kakulla* mentioned by the Arab geographers and travellers; it is pre-eminently the country of the aloe woods and an excellent variety of it has the name of *Kakuli*. "The first thing that I noticed on entering the tiwn of *Kakula* was elephants charged with Indian aloe woods; the inhabitants burn them in their houses as its price is the same there as that of fuel in our countries or even less" (Ibn Batuta, 14th century, Fer-rand, *Textes géographiques*, p. 455). Here again we find a new case of the alternance *k-t* in the initial. Krishnaswami Aiyengar quotes (*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore*, XII, 1, p. 23)

a text in which there is mention of the products brought from outside to the port of Tondi in the Cola country; four kinds of aloe woods (*agaru*) are mentioned there (along with silk, sandal and camphor; one of its varieties is called *taḥḥoli*; it is clearly impossible to separate this name of the wood from the kakuli aloe wood referred to by the Arabs (another variety bears the name of kiḍāraṇa "a product of Kiḍāraṇa," the country of Kedah in Malayasia according to Cœdès, *BEFEO.*, XVIII, 6, 22). The *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* (Ferrand, p. 581) relates the story of a sailor who having disembarked very near Kakula had relations with a she-monkey, made her pregnant and fled in a country boat; at the end of a little over twenty zam i.e. about 70 hours, he reached one of the Andaman islands. The narrator therefore must have thought that he had left from some part of the western coast of Indo-China where also is located the K'ia-ku-lo of the Chinese. If Kakula mentioned by the Arabs was a country of aloe wood it was also the country of real cardamom—the white cardamom, or the small cardamom or the cardamom in bunches or the round cardamom the *Elettaria Cardamomum* of the Botanists because this particular product ordinarily bears the name *kākūla* (*kākūla eḥil*) in Arabic and that of *kaḥelah-seghar* in Persian.

We are surprised to note in this connection that Sanskrit *kaḥḥola* is never used in this sense and that cardamom never bears this name either in Sanskrit or in Dravidian languages. It would be sufficient to refer to the names in Sanskrit, Uriya, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese which have been collected by A. W. Lushington in his *Vernacular list of Trees.....in the Madras Presidency*, no. 3004; vol. II A, p. 737. However Sarat Chandra Das, in his *Tibetan Dictionary s.v. ka-ko-la*, interprets this word as "cardamom;" he adds a note immediately after: "the fruit of *Coculus Indicus*, the plant with a berry, the inner part of which consists of seeds with a wax-like aromatic substance." The *Coculus Indicus* has nothing to do with cardamom; it is a menisperm that bears in Sanskrit the name of *kākamāri* etc. (Lushington, *List* no. 81, Khory and Katrak, *Materia Medica*, p. 24: *anamirta poeniculata*). S. C. Das seems to have confounded *kaḥḥola* with *kaḥola*; in fact *kaḥola* is described in a text cited by the P.W. s.v., *kaḥolarā ugratejaḥ syāt kṛṣṇacchavi mahāviṣam* and these characteristics agree well with those of the *Coculus Indicus* berries with which however Wilson identifies this plant. The Tibetan translation of Amarakoṣa (*Bibl. Indica.*, no. 1294, p. 117, v. 124) gives *ka-ko-la* as the translation of *pṛthvikā* which certainly is a name of the big carda-

mom, *elā* (Lushington, *List*, 2991 bis). The equivalence "kakkola cardamom" was therefore held as certain by the Tibetan translator.

If we set aside this evidence, the kakkola is, as Dr. Cordier had pointed out (*BEFEO.*, III, 466), the *lavanga scandens* nutmeg "from which is extracted a scented medicinal oil, used for the hairs and called kakkola" (*Materia Medica of India* by R. N. Khory and N. N. Katrak, p. 133). Amara is contented to mention it (II, 6, 133; Loiseleur, II, 6, 3, 34) as ingredients of perfumery called *yakṣa-kardama*; it is mentioned there with two other products of the Indonesian world, the camphor (*karṣūra*) and aloe wood (*agaru*); it occurs also in a medical recipe of the *Suśruta* (I, 243, 19) with the areca nut, (*pūga*), the camphor and the cloves (*lavaṅga*), all of which are products of the same region. The Bengali recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gorr. III, 39, 22) substitutes *kaḥkōla* for *taḥkōla* of other recensions in the passage which has been already quoted by me. The name occurs in the modern languages but it seems to have changed its meaning: in Hindi and Marathi, *kaḥkōl* or *kaṁkōl* meaning a plant which grows in the West Indies, Antilles and Venezuela, the *Pimenta acris* for which Lushington, IIA, no. 1207, gives the English names: West Indian bayberry tree; China pepper; tree pepper; black cinnamom; wild clove; cabobcheeny of Madras; stal cherry of Bengal. It is actually cultivated on the whole western coast of India but it was introduced there only during the last few centuries and it is by mistake that the Petersburg Dictionary gives it as an equivalent of kakkola mentioned specially in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Suśruta*. The names in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese collected by Lushington have nothing in common with the word kakkola. Besides, we have noticed in connection with the word takkola that neither Tamil nor Telegu, so far as can be judged from the lists of Lushington, contain botanical names bearing on kakkola.

It might seem strange that so heteroclite plants are meant by the same name. But the popular nomenclature takes no account of the scientific characters which connect or separate species; it is exclusively based on the characters which seem to be striking at the first sight. The numerous plants to which the name *taḥkōla* has been applied all contain an oleoresin that spreads a strong smell which is generally camphorated; but the camphor is the type of smell that is held to be agreeable. It is thus that eucalyptus which is a recently introduced tree (it is a native of Australia) has received in India the name of camphor tree, in Sanskrit *karṣūra*, in Telegu *karapurapu*, in Tamil *karuppuram* etc. (Lushington, *List*, *cdix*). Similarly in Egypt also it is

designated by the Arab name of camphor tree—*kaḥfur* (as communicated to me by M. Victor Mosseri, Vice-president of the Egyptian Institute).

The names, Takkola and Kakkola do not belong to the geographical nomenclature of the Malaysian region alone; they are found also on the Indian soil proper. Takkolam is even today the name of a locality of historical importance, now a simple village, situated right to the west of Madras, about 6 miles to the south-east of Arkonam Junction, 79° 48' East and 13° 1' North. It was there that in 949 the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III fought a battle with Cola Rājāditya who was killed, as told in the inscription of Atakur in Mysore (Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 54). An inscription dated in the reign of Kṛṣṇa III commemorating his conquests, is still found at Takkolam. The *Topographical List of Inscript. of the Madras Presidency*, by V. Rangacharya (Madras, 1919, vol. I, p. 37) refers to not less than 19 inscriptions (Arcot North District, nos. 43 to 61) discovered in this locality and which are all contemporary of the Colas. They come from the temple of Jḷalanātheśvara, also called Uṛaḷ "the fountain" and also Nanditīrtha and commemorate the donations.

So far as Kakkola is concerned, there is little doubt that the name is at the base of Śrī-Kākulam, which is the Sanskrit name of the port known as Chicacole, situated on the eastern coast at 18° 17' 25" North and 83° 56' 25" East, on the estuary of the Languliyā or Nagavali. The port is ancient; it was near the capital of Kalinga, the country which had so much contributed to the Hindu emigration to the Malay Peninsula and to the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The tradition (Rangacharya, *List of Inscr. Kistna District*, p. 891) reports that king Trilocana Pallava had founded there a Brahmanical establishment towards the 3rd century; no inscription earlier than the 9th century has been discovered there but Rangacharya adds: "the survey of the place has yet to be completed." Of some 46 inscriptions discovered, 36 were found in the temple of Śrī Kākuleśvara who is the local divinity. The form *kākula* has the same relation with Sanskrit *kakḥola* as *taḥul* (Singhalese) has with *taḥkola*. It is probably the same country that the Indian translator of the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra into Chinese language believed to have recognised in the original Sanskrit version in the chapter in which the southern region is described. After the country of Uḍra (Orissa), Andhra (lower Godavari), Kera (Malabar) and before reaching the Cauvery he says: "Near the southern sea-shore there is a kingdom named *Kia-kiu-lo-mo* (迦俱摩), all the best

trees grow there in abundance. The country is three hundred yojana in length and fifty in breadth'' (*Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, JA., 1918, I, 29, n. 2). It is true that the Tibetan translator has translated it quite differently: "And moreover, in the interior of the ocean, all the trees of the karkola kind are found in abundance. Its length is....." The word *karkola* = *kakḥkola*, is for one the name of a country but for the other the name of a tree. In the corresponding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 41 there is nothing like this description. The place called Kakkola had without doubt some connection with Tantrism, as the Tibetan Dictionary of S. C. Das explains *kaḥo-la* (sic., *kaḥo* under the heading *kaḥ*) as "a secret abode of the Ḍākini" and in this connection reference is made to the Kanjur, Rgyud (III, p. 337) i.e. to the Sampūṭa-tantra.

Whether as geographical or botanical names, Takkola and Kakkola are clearly forms that have been derived by adding such prefixes as *k* and *t* or *kaḥ* and *taḥ* with *kola* that has been preserved in Sanskrit. However inexplicable a form of this type may be in Aryan languages the character of an original relationship between these forms still survives. The dictionary of Amara explains it thus (II, 6, 129) *atha kolakam kakḥkolakam* (or *takḥko-*), and Keśavasvāmīn in his Nānārthārnava saṁkṣepa (*tryakṣara nānālingādhy.* 596) *kolakam marice tathā kakḥcole ca*; in this passage also two manuscripts have *takḥcole* and again (*duyaks: nānāling.*, 288): *kolam punar napi vyoṣe'rdhakarṣe takḥcole śunthyām ca badariphale*. We shall mention similar other facts in course of this study.

Among the names that follows Takkola in the Mahā Niddeśa, a reader familiar with lists of Ptolemy cannot but be struck by the name Vesunga. The identity with Ptolemy is not less striking here than in the case of Takkola and the name reappears on several occasions in Tables VII, 2, 4: After the cape of Tēmala (Tamala) commences the country of the cannibal Besungeitai on the gulf of Sārabakos and in this country there is the trading port called Besunga near the mouth of the river Besunga; the river Besunga is the southernmost of all the rivers flowing from the Maiandros mountains (*ibid.* 10). The country of Besungeitai is in the vicinity of the land of Gold (*Khrusē Khôra*) which is situated beyond the land of Silver (*Argurē Khôra*) where it is said a great abundance of the layer of this metal is found. Etienne de Byzance still in the sixth century mentions in his geographical vocabulary the names of "Besunga, a market town of India, of the river Besungas and the people Besungitai who are known as cannibal."

The configuration of the map of Ptolemy does not allow us to locate the town and the people anywhere except in Pegu to the north of the gulf of Martaban; all attempts at more precise localisation would be risky as the silts of the Irrawaddy and the Sittaung must have modified the coast line in course of two thousand years. Ptolemy locates Besunga (lat. 9°) at almost 5° to the north of Takola ($4^{\circ} 15'$); but it is necessary to add to this distance 2° which Ptolemy gives in respect of the longitude (Besunga 162° ; Takola 160°) which is wrong on the side of the coast line that has been pushed eastwards after the isthmus corresponding to the isthmus of Kra. Ptolemy's geographical construction is an interpretation by projection of the nautical distances furnished from the sailors' estimates. Now Ptolemy had to combine his informations with a datum which he held to be fundamental: it is the position of Sada on the western coast of trans-Gangetic India which he had adopted as the basis of his meridians for this region (Ptol. I, 137-9). Marin de Tyr had estimated as 13000 stadia, the crossing of the Gangetic gulf between Paloura on the eastern coast of India and Sada which was supposed to be right across on the other shore, both being at $11^{\circ} 20'$ of the North latitude. The city of Paloura is placed at $2^{\circ} 40'$ to the south of the mouth of the river Manada which is certainly the Mahānadi; the *apheterion* of the boats going to the land of gold (Khruse), the point from which the sailors left the coast for sailing right towards the east to the other shore, was situated at $20'$ west and $20'$ south of Paloura i.e. about 20 miles in each direction. Ptolemy blames his predecessor for not having taken into account in his calculation of distances the irregularity of navigation which lengthens the real distance by about one-third. He therefore reduces 13000 stadia of Marin to 8,670 or 18° . Therefore if Paloura is situated at $136^{\circ} 40'$ east and the *apheterion* at $136^{\circ} 20'$, Sada must be placed at $154^{\circ} 20'$. From Sada up to the town of Tamala, Marin estimates the crossing as 3500 stadia in the south-eastern direction; Ptolemy reduces this distance also by one-third for reasons already stated; this makes the distance 2,330 stadia; but the obliqueness of the direction in relation to the north-south meridian entails a further reduction of the distance by one-sixth; the distance of the meridians of Sada and Tamala therefore comes to 1,940 stadia or about $3^{\circ} 30'$. Tamala therefore would be indicated by $157^{\circ} 30'$. Marin calculates the crossing from Tamala to the peninsula of Gold (Khruse Khersonesos) at 1,600 stadia, always in the south-eastern direction; Ptolemy corrects this distance also by reducing it by one-third and one-sixth, and indicates the distance

between the meridians of the two places by $1^{\circ}48'$. He then concludes: "The sum of these distances therefore gives the distance between cape Koru and the peninsula of Gold as $34^{\circ}48'$." As Koru is at $125^{\circ}40'$, the cape of Takola which marks the northern limit of Khruse Kheronesos, has been placed at 159° east. But the outline of the littoral as fixed by these three points—Sada, Tamala and the cape of Khruse does not give a sufficient distance for spacing the calling places mentioned by the navigators. Besides, inspite of the precise testimony of Marin who constantly follows a line in the direction of north-west-south-east from Sada up to the Go'den peninsula, Ptolemy makes the coast turn towards the west after Berabai in order to regain in latitude what the longitude does not furnish him on a distance of $3^{\circ}20'$. His method of correcting the distances which is purely arbitrary in spite of its logical appearances has led him to deform the outline of the eastern coast in an awkward manner; he has lost $3^{\circ}31' + 1^{\circ}4^{\circ}30'$ from the estimates of Marin in a direct line from Sada to the Golden peninsula.

Is the latitude $11^{\circ}20'$ given to Sada by Ptolemy better worked out than his longitude? Sada is just opposite to Paloura. Paloura is at $2^{\circ}\frac{2}{3}$ south of the mouth of the Mahānadī. As to the apheterion Hiuan-tsang gives an indication of its site. "On the south-eastern frontiers of the kingdom of *Wu-ch'a* (Uda, Orissa) and on the shore of a great ocean there is the city of *Che-li-ta-lo* (Caritra) which is a *Fahing* (發行) in the Chinese language (this literally corresponds to the Greek word *apheterion* used by Ptolemy). It is there that the sea-going merchants and travellers from foreign countries halt in course of their journey. Its circumference is about twenty li. The town has solid and raised walls; it possesses a multitude of rare and precious products. Outside the town there are five stūpas side by side which have towers and pavillions rising to a great height. One can see there statues of venerable persons executed with as much art as splendour." On leaving this country from the south-western side Hiuan-tsang reached the kingdom of *Kong-yu-t'o*. *Kong-yu-t'o* which Julien could not identify is Kōṅgoda which formed a maṇḍala of Dakṣiṇa Kōśāla (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, 136) and corresponds to the modern district of Ganjam. The city of *Che-li-ta-lo* should therefore be placed to the south of Puri and Kanarak (Black Pagoda) which also had a notoriety on account of the part they played in the life of the navigators. Although I propose to take up the problem elsewhere I should briefly call attention to the old traditions centering around the first lay disciples of

Śākyamuni, Trapuṣa and Bhallika, which make the merchants coming from the Burma coast disembark on the coast of Utkala. Paloura and the apheterion were therefore really situated between 20° and 18° latitude north¹; the corresponding point on the opposite shore should be placed between Akyab and Sandoway. Besunga which Ptolemy places 2° 20' more to the south should be located on the latitude of Rangoon, Pegu and Martaban. As to Takola, if we adopt the calculation of Marin without the arbitrary corrections of Ptolemy it should be located at 5,100 stadia from 20°—18' North in a direct line: from Sada to the cape of Tamala 3,500 stadia; from cape Tamala to Khruse 1,600 stadia. The distance of 5,100 stadia is equal to about 10°; this leads to the southern part of the narrow strip where the isthmus of Kra is situated.

The city of Caritra has not been so far pointed out in Sanskrit texts. I have found its mention and more than once in the Buddhist tantrik work called *Ḍākārṇava*. Haraprasad Sastri who has published numerous extracts from this work specially in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Collection*, I, *Buddhist Mss.* (Calcutta, 1917) has given on p. 97 of the catalogue a copy of the folio 154B Ch. 49, in which the Tantra enumerates the twenty-four sacred places (pīṭha) haunted by "skeleton divinities" *-kaṅkālinī*; among these places are found (no. 12 to 15).

Jayantyām Prṣṭhapure tu Sopāre Carite tāṇā

In a significant manner Carita is mentioned here with Sopara, the great port of the western coast which also was an apheterion for vessels sailing for the coast of Malaysia as well as for the coast of Africa. The versifier must have written Carita for metrical reasons. Further on the verse has been given by him in the authentic form of Caritra(ka); on p. 157 he mentions the forms of divinities worshipped in each of the places:

Sopāre paretasthū tu karañjasthā Caritrake.

Thus at Caritra(ka) was worshipped a Devī associated with a karañja tree. The karañja tree which is still known under the same name has in fact its habitat in "the neighbourhood of the Indian coasts" (Khory and Katrak, *Materia Medica*, p. 224); its botanical name is *Pongamia glabra*. It has an attractive appearance and it is besides used in various ways for the medicinal and cooking purposes. Its importance can be understood from the large number of its synonyms and varieties that has been recorded by Amara, II, 4, 2, 28-29. The karañja is associated with maternity in a curious passage of the Mahābhārata

(III, 229, 14 487) where goddesses dangerous to the small children have been enumerated :

*pādapānām ca yā mātā karañjanilayā hi sū
varadū sā hi saumyā ca nityam bhūtānuṣampini
karañje tam namasyanti tasmāt putrārthino narāḥ*

The divinity that is the mother of trees lives on a karañja. She is beneficent, amiable and always full of pity for the beings. So men who desire sons worship her in the karañja.

I have not yet found other traces of this cult; it is possible that the devi Kāṅkālini of Caritra(ka) represented a special aspect of this goddess.

It is again the city of Caritra which we should recognise in the otherwise transparent name of Samudraprasthāna "the departure for the ocean" in the story of the peregrinations of Sudhana in quest of truth, as told in the Gaṇḍavyūha. The real importance of this work has not been so far understood for want of a precise knowledge of its nature. In fact it is the last part of the great collection of works which bears the title of Avatamsaka. The Gaṇḍavyūha was treated as a separate work already towards the end of the 8th century, as Śubhākaradeva, the king of Orissa (of whom we now possess an inscription : *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 1) presented to the Emperor of China his own manuscript of the text in 795 and it was this text which was the basis of the translation made by Prājña in 796-798. There were however two complete translations of the whole collection in Chinese, one by Buddhahadra (398-421) and the other by Śikṣānanda (695-699). The author of the Gaṇḍavyūha has either for reasons of art, faith or fancy, concealed the names of localities and mentioned them under equivalents with identical meaning. Thus for example the famous port of Supāra or Supāraka is interpreted as "good crossing" (*su-pāra-ga*) and given as Śubhapāraṅgama. In a similar way Caritraka has become Samudraprasthāna "the apheterion of the ocean"; the three translators have adopted the same translation in Chinese; *hai chu* 海住 (Buddhabhadra, I, 9, 37b1; Śikṣānanda, I, 4, 21a5; Prājña, I, 5, 37b19) which means the "halting place on the sea" and which should be corrected as 海往 *hai wang* "to go to the sea." The whole itinerary would require a minute discussion which I cannot take up here; but I have no doubt as to the identity of Samudraprasthāna and Caritra.

It may be noted that towards the end of the 18th century in 1775 the Grand Lama who wrote the *Sambhala'i lam yig* still noted Caritra among the countries of South India (translation of Grünwedel, p. 23).

As the name of Vesuṅga may be identified with Besunga of Ptolemy, the name of Verāpatha mentioned immediately after Vesuṅga in the Niddesa seems to be the same as "the town of Berabai" which Ptolemy mentions after Besunga at 162° 20' and 6° i.e. 3° further to the south which appears to point out to the region of Tavoy. On the whole this identification seems to fit in as in the map of Ptolemy the narrow point that connects the continent to the Golden Peninsula is placed slightly to the south of Berabai. The element Bera occurs in another name which is placed to the north of Besunga; Ptolemy places the emporium of Berabonna just after Sada. It is probable that the name belongs to an indigenous language which may be Mon.

The unexpected mention of Takkasila just after Takkola cannot be evidently connected with the city of Taxila situated far away from this region and also far away from the sea. But Ptolemy locates slightly to the north of Sada the mouth of the river called Tokosanna at 153° east and 15° 30' north, at 1° 30' south of the mouth of the Katabeda of which the name is still preserved in the name of the island of Kutabdia, to the south of Chittagong; this would probably be the river Naaf. The alternation of the liquid and the nasal sounds in the second element of the name (*sanna-sila*) is too frequent to be surprised at. The notation by [o] or by short [o] of Greek of the vowel written as [a] in Indian languages would attest in conformity with other indications to the existence of one of the phenomena characteristic of the Bengali pronunciation of the first two centuries of the Christian era (cf. for example the names of the two cities of Poloura and Tilogrammon: Poloura is without doubt the same name as that of Paloura on the Orissa coast, *supra*; Tilogrammon is most probably Sanskrit Tilagrāma). Tokosanna, it might be said, is within the sphere of Bengali influence.

Another fact should be noted. Ptolemy agrees with Pali in writing a guttural surd without aspiration in the second syllable of the name. I do not think that any importance has been attached to this really singular trait that among all known Prakrits, Pali alone writes *Takḥa-silā*; the other literary Prakrits have *Takḥḥa* and the epigraphical Prakrits have *Takḥa-* or *Tacha-*. The Western Grammarians (E. Müller., p. 55, Geiger, 62, 2) classify this fact under the rubric: "loss of aspiration" but the facts classified or rather collected under this rubric almost entirely bear on rare words or on false analogies. The name of Takṣaśilā would not be classed with the first category. As to the second it is difficult to understand what analogy could occur in Pali

while other Prakrits did not feel it. The Greek form Taxila does not throw any light on the nature of the guttural incorporated in the x (ξ). The Pali form leads to the problem whether we are here confronted with a pre-Aryan name or not. The Sanskrit *Takṣaśilā* would be in that case an interpretation which is not less fanciful than that recorded by the Chinese pilgrims (Fa-hien, chap. ix: Hiouan-ts'ang, *Mem.*, I, 154)- "(the city) of severed head."

The Maha Niddesa mentions Kālamukha after Takkaśilā. There is nothing to resemble, this name in Ptolemy. I have already pointed out (*Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, *J.A.*, 1918, I, 76) the presence of a people under this name in the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa; they inhabited the eastern region among the different tribes of the Kirātas of whom they appear to have been simply a variety with dark colour (G., IV, 40, 29). According to Ptolemy, the Kirātas are to be placed between the mouth of the Ganges and Tokosanna; beyond this river was the country of silver (Argure). There is no doubt that the *Airrhadoi* of Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2 is a mistake for *Kirrhadoi*. If we have any doubt about it, it will be sufficient to refer to para 16 of the same chapter where the country is called *Kirrhadia*. But it seems that nobody has recognised that Kirāta occurs in Ptolemy under a somewhat disquieting form. Before mentioning the country of Kirrhadia, Ptolemy describes a people "on (*over*) the Maiandros mountain." Lassen proposed to recognise Sanskrit Mandara in Maiandros; the identification has since been confirmed. In fact the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa (G., IV, 40, 28) mentions after the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), towards the east, with "the cities and mountains which wash their feet in the sea," the "Kirāta tribes which inhabit the peaks of the Mandara mountain," just before the Kālamukha or "black-faced people" who are mentioned in the next verse. These inhabitants of the Maiandros are "the Tiladai, as it is under this name that the Beseidai were known; they were dumpy, squat, hairy and large; they had however a white skin." The Rāmāyaṇa in fact mentions the Kirātas "who have golden colour and pleasing appearance" (G., IV, 40, 30) that is to say those who had a white skin as distinguished from the Kālamukha, "the dark faced people" who are mentioned in the preceding verse as those having fearful appearance (*ghorāḥ*). I have just admitted the equivalence Tiladai-Kirāta as a factual datum. This is because the name Kirāta frequently occurs in Prakrit with a palatalised initial; we find *Cilāda* as well as *Cilāa*, *Cilāya* (Pischel 230). The same form is also frequently found as the

basis of the Chinese transcriptions. I am constrained to believe that it is the same name that should be restored in two passages of the *Milinda*: p. 327, *Śaka-Yavane pi Cina-Vilāte pi.* and p. 331, *Śaka-Yavana-Cina-Vilāta*. The confusion between *ca* and *va* is constant in most part of Indian writings; it is naturally expected that the Kirātas should be mentioned with the Cinas in a list of peoples, foreign to India and settled on the frontiers. The Mahābhārata associates them together on several occasions, for example, II, 26, 1002: *Kirā-taiśca Cīnaiśca*; V, 19, 584: *Cīnaiḥ Kirātaiśca*. The transcription of the palatal was an embarrassment for the Greeks. Ptolemy has *Tias-tanes* to represent the name of Caṣṭana, the king Ujjayinī; but in order to transcribe Cemula, he hesitates between the two equivalences: *Semulla* (*Semula*) and *Timoula* (*Timoulla*). He uses the first form in his tables while describing the coast of Ariake (VII, 1, 6); but in his Introduction (I, 17), soon after using the name under this form he adds: "Those who have sailed up to that place, passed long time there and have come back, tell us that the natives call this port Timoula (*Timoulla*)." The equation *Timoula* = *Cemula* is exactly parallel to *Tilada* = *Cilāda* (= *Kirāta*).

To come back to the question of the Kālamukha; it should be noted that their name occurs in the Mahābhārata, II, 31, 1171, and their associations as mentioned there agree with the Rāmāyaṇa and Ptolemy. Sahadeva, in course of his conquest of the southern countries, conquered Sūpāraka, Tālākata, Daṇḍaka and "those who inhabit the islands of the ocean, the kings issuing from barbarian mothers, the Niṣāda, the cannibals, the Kaṇapṛavarāṇa (who cover themselves with their ears, cf. *Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, JA., 1918, II, p. 75) and those who are called Kālamukha, issues of human demons (*nara-rākṣasa*). The sudden appearance of these people in course of a campaign in the Deccan in the countries of the Pāṇḍya, the Drāviḍa, the Andhra, had been probably suggested to the poet by the name of Sūrpāraka: Sūrpāraka, Soupara of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 6 and Supara of the Mahāniddesa was the port from which the ships then sailed for the Far East.

The name which follows Kālamukha in the Niddesa is very uncertain; the editors have adopted the reading *Maraṇapāra*; but the manuscripts also have *Pūrapura*, *Parapura*, *Parapūra*, *Parammukha*.

The next stages are already known to us and have been discussed; these are Vesuṅga and Verāpatha. The name that follows them in the list, Java, does not require any commentary. The correspondence

in this case, more or less literal, is too clear to require any discussion. Another question remains and it should be conveniently reserved as this is not the place to discuss it: does the name Java apply to our Java or rather to Sumatra or the two together? It should be admitted that the arrangement in our text favours the second of these three hypotheses; to touch Java would impose on the itinerary, as developed in our text, a too much accentuated detour towards the south; the stages that follow in the list in fact take us back to the east of Malay Peninsula.

After Java the printed text has *Tamaliṃ* but its variants are numerous; on the first passage, p. 154, there are *Kamaliṃ*, *Tammaliṃ*, *Tammuni*; on the second there is *Tāmbaliṅgam*. Here there is no room for doubt. It would be showing too much honour to the compilers of the Siamese edition of the Tripitaka (Si) to suppose that they have introduced here through archæological complacency the name of Tāmbaliṅga which the Western scholars even a few years ago did not know. Neither M. Takakusu in 1896, nor MM. Hirth and Rockhill in 1912 nor M. Rockhill in 1915 had succeeded in hinting the Indian original of the otherwise transparent Chinese transcription of Tan-ma-ling. The credit of restoring this country to geography and to history goes to M. Coedès; a Sanskrit inscription dated 1230 A.D. and discovered at Jaiya supplied him with the name of Tāmbra-linga which he later on identified with the Tamil name Mā-Damā-lingam which occurs in the Tanjore inscription of Rājendra Cola (*BEFEO.*, XVIII, 6, 15 ff.). The *Chu-fan-che* of Chao Ju-kua (translated by Hirth and Rockhill, p. 67) contains a detailed notice on the same country of Tan-ma-ling. M. Rockhill subsequently translated (*T'oung-Pao*, 1915, p. 123) another notice on the same country taken from *Tao yi che liao*, dated 1349; the notice there comes immediately after the notice on *Chen-la*=Cambodia. None of these two notices contains a certain basis for the identification of the site but it would not be far distant from the region of Pahang where the name of Tembeling is still in use, being applied to a cape and a rock near the mouth of the river of Kwantan, Pahang, and also to a district in the interior of the country on an affluent of the river of Pahang. A new evidence may perhaps be added to the texts referred to by M. Coedès. Taranatha (Schiefner, p. 135) mentions among the contemporaries of the great ācārya Dinnāga the ācārya Buddhapālita (*saṃs rgyas bskyas*) who was "born in the south, in a part of the country of Tambala which is called Hamsakrīḍa (*ñāṇi-bas-rce-ba*

"the game of the goose)." This is at least the text followed by Schiefner in his translation. But the Tibetan historian Ye-śes-dpal-'byor, in his *Dpag-bsams-ljon-bzañ* (ed. Sarat Chandra Das, p. 94), reads *Tambhaliñ* and *dvañs-pa'i rca-ba* instead of *Tambala* and *riañ-bas rce-ba*; the passage therefore should be translated as: "Buddhapālita was born in the south, in the part of *Tambhaliñ* which is the Root of purity." If this reading is correct, Buddhapālita would be a native of the country of Tāmbaliṅga = Tāmraliṅga. The shortening of the form as *Tamaliñ* (or *Tammaliñ* etc.) in most of the manuscripts may be explained as a haplographical mistake which is the most common mistake of the copyist. The original text had *Tambaliṅgam gacchati*, as the word *gacchati* "goes" is repeated after each name. There were therefore two identical akṣaras at the end of which one was differentiated from the other only by the dot indicating nasalisation; an ancient copyist must have dropped the first of the two akṣaras and wrote *Tamaliñ gacchati* instead of *Tāmbaliṅgañ gacchati* (Tamm° = Tamb°).

After Tambalinga the printed text of the Niddesa has the name of Vaṅga in the two passages. Apparently there is no difficulty: Vaṅga is a well-known name which has come down as Vaṅgāla, name of Bengal even to our days. But it should be recognised that the mention of Bengal is unexpected here; we have just left the south of Malay peninsula; after Vaṅga we are going to be taken to the Land of Gold which also is in the Malay peninsula. The commentator of the Sutta Nipāta is certainly not a professional geographer; his nomenclature follows only an approximate order. In fact the mistake is here due to the editors; they have sinned for their liking for *lectio simplior*. On p. 414 all the manuscripts have *Vañkam*; on p. 154 *Vañkam* is also the reading supplied by the Siamese edition. This *lectio difficilior* has all the chance of being authentic. The name of Baṅka (I believe it is unnecessary to insist on the identity of *b* and *v*) is still the name of an important island situated along Sumatra as a prolongation of the Malay peninsula just opposite the estuary of the river of Palembang or the point where the Hindu civilisation of Indonesia attained the highest degree of splendour with the Śrīvijaya empire (Coedès, *Le Royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., 1918, 6; Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*, JA., 1922, 2). The straits of Banka which separates the island (of Banka) from the coast of Sumatra is the route necessary for small navigation between the Malay peninsula and its opposite shores on one hand and between the island of Java and its opposite shores on the other hand; Palembang thus occupied the privi-

leged situation that is enjoyed by Singapore in our times. The wealth of the tin crusts of Banka must have attracted the traders to that place. The persistence of the old names in the Indian archipelago need not surprise us. Java has preserved intact the ancient name by which it was known to the Greeks and the Indians; I had the occasion to show in a communication to the Société Asiatique that the name transcribed by Ptolemy as *Barousai* (in plural), by the Arabs as *Balūs* and by the Portuguese as *Baros* was known in India under the name *Paruṣa* or *Parūṣa*.

The next name is uncertain and obscure; there is no choice between *Elavaḍḍhana*, *-bandhana*, *-baddhana* and *Jalavana*. None of these forms can be seriously admitted as acceptable. The name seems to have a meaning but it remains doubtful. *Elā* = Sk. *cḍa* means a sheep with a long fattened tail. It is one of the marvels of India but has nothing to do with Indonesia. *Vardhana* "rearing," *Bandhana* "bind" do not suggest anything sure in combination with *cḍa*. Ptolemy places to the east of Java the three "islands of Satyrs" which were so called "because it is said that their inhabitants had tails like those found in the pictures of the Satyrs" (VIII, 2, 30). This story might have suggested to the Indian imagination the familiar picture of the sheep with long fattened tails; so the country was given an amusing name of the type of *Puṇḍravardhana*, etc. *Jalavana*, "the forest of water" is not preferable to the other. Almost in despair of finding the exact name it may be proposed to read *jaḷabandhana* = Sk. *jaḍaban* "to bind so that it may be immobilised." In that case we may think of the islands of Maniolai which Ptolemy mentions last, after the islands of the Satyrs, at the eastern end of the trans-Gangetic India. "It is said that the ships which have iron nails get stuck to that place although those islands do not produce the magnet."

The two names that follow, *Suvaṇṇakūṭa* and *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, should be taken together. One of the two, *Suvaṇṇabhūmi*, "the land of gold," is a well-known classical appellation which corresponds to *Chryse* of the Greeks and the Romans. It would be risky to exaggerate the value of its precision; it rather indicates a direction just as we say: the East Indies, the West Indies. *Suvaṇṇakūṭa* is roughly the countries situated to the east of the Bay of Bengal to which Ptolemy gives the name of trans-Gangetic India (*ἡ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἰνδίας*); it was the Eldorado of the Indian adventurers who were rather travellers and not conquerors.

Suvaṇṇakūṭa "the peak of gold," if the tradition of the manuscripts

is exact, hides under a secondary alteration a geographical name unknown to western science which would be vainly searched for in the Petersburg Dictionary. I had the good chance of recovering it from oblivion. The Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna, in its chapter already published by me (*JA.*, 1918, II, p. 20), places "an island called the Wall of Gold to the east of the Jambudvīpa in the ocean of jewels; it is entirely covered with a soil of gold and inhabited by demons who are fearful in appearance and powerful." In a note on this passage I have collected parallel texts extracted from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇamañjarī and the Harivaṁśa. The Bombay recension has: "the island of Java surrounded by seven kingdoms and the island of Gold-Silver with golden mines." The Bengali recension transforms the island of Java into Jaladvīpa, "the island of water" and continues: "and also of Gold-Silver and again Gaṇadvīpa." Kṣemendra, in his work, has summarised the passage thus: "the mountains of the Jambudvīpa up to the Golden Wall which is its limit." Last of all, the Harivaṁśa, which reproduces the hemistich *c, d*, of the Bombay text has instead of the two words "Go'd-Silver" (*Suvarṇarūpyaka*), the words "Golden wall" (*Suvarṇakūḍyaka*). It is evident that the reading given by the Harivaṁśa and by Kṣemendra is alone admissible. The mention of silver (*rūpyaka*) is little explicable as the poet takes care to specify particularly that the island contains gold mines. The suspicion increases more as the word *rūpyaka* is attested only in one passage in the Petersburg Dictionary. *Rūpyaka* had its origin probably due to a scribe's error for *kūḍyaka*.

Through a striking accident which speaks a good deal on the age of the Arthaśāstra, the supposed Kauṭilya is the only author who gives information on the country of *Suvarṇakūḍyaka*. It is mentioned three times but in the same chapter, II, 11, 29 in which the valuable objects to be kept in the king's treasury are spoken of. *Suvarṇakūḍyaka* is thus a country of rare and precious objects. The first of the products of *Suvarṇakūḍyaka* is *tailaparnika*. According to Amara, II, 6, 131, (Lois, II, 6, 3, 33) *tailaparnika* is a variety of sandal.

tailaparnikagoṣīrṣa haricandanam astriyām.

The commentator Kṣīrasvāmin says: "Tailaparna and Goṣīrṣa are the names of two mountains where this wood is found.....it is quite yellow and cool, so it is said." Sarvānanda gives another explanation: "Each of the three words given by Amara means a special variety of sandal. The *tailaparnika* is a white sandal which is very cool....., *haricandana* is yellow and has the smell of ripe mango."

However in the next hemistich Amara gives the word *tailaparnī* as the name of red sandal.

tilaparnī tu patrāṅgam rañjanam rakṭacandanam.

And this time Kṣīrasvāmin explains it as "It is called *tilaparnī* because its leaf is like that of *sesamum* (*tila*); or it may be that the river *Tilaparnī* is the place from which it comes." The Tibetan translator remains contented by simply transcribing the names *tailaparnika* and *Tilaparnī*. Besides, the mountain *Tailaparnika* and the river *Tilaparnī* have not yet been met with in Sanskrit literature. Then again in order to increase our embarrassment, Kauṭilya separates the three words which are treated as synonyms by Amara; he mentions *gośīrṣa* and *haricandana* under the heading of sandal; the first has "the light copper colour with a smell of fish", the other has the "colour of the parrot's wings with a smell of mango", he then passes on to *agaru* "eagle wood," he then mentions several varieties of *tailaparnika* such as the *Aśokagrāmika* which "has the colour of flesh with a smell of padma lotus" the *Coṅgaka* is "reddish yellow with a smell of utpala lotus or of the colour of cow's urine;" the *Grāmeruka* is "oily with the smell of cow's urine; the *Suvarṇakuḍyaka* is reddish yellow with the smell of citron; the *Purnakadvipaka* has the smell of padma lotus or of butter; the *Bhadraśrīya*, the *Pāralauhityaka*, has the smell of nutmeg; the *Āṇṇārāpatya* has the colour of *uśīra*." All these names are still as many riddles. A study of this catalogue at least shows that the *tailaparnika* was, like the sandal and the eagle wood, a fragrant wood and it had a colour varying between fleshy red and yellow citron. In matter of the proper qualities of *tailaparnika*, Kauṭilya simply says: "It is as in the case of sandal and eagle wood." It was therefore very similar to the one or the other. The one or the other takes us very far away to the east of India. So far as sandal is concerned, I have already shown that the best varieties grew in Macassar and Timor (*JA.*, 1918, II, 105-108); I may be permitted to add a new evidence taken from Hirth and Rockhill. In their translation of *Chao-ju-kua*, p. 209, they quote the following passage from Crawford (*History of Indian Archipelago*, I, p. 519): "Going towards the east from Java and Madura, the sandal wood may be found in small quantities in various islands; more one advances to the east the more it is abundant and excellent, as far as Timor where its quality and quantity are of the first order." So far as the eagle wood is concerned it is known that Campā, otherwise known as Annam, always supplied its best quality. It is to be hoped that the discovery of new texts will

help to solve the mystery of tailapaṇṇika and to determine its proper habitation.

The second product of Suvarṇakuḍya was the *dukūla*. The Petersburg Dictionary gives the word as the name of a plant with a reference to the Harivaṃśa 12680 (adhy., 231; Langlois, 226); the poet describes in this passage the palace of the king of demons, Hiraṇyakaśipu; the park there contained the most beautiful and the most scented essences; *dukūla* is found there not very far from *agaru*, next to *kāliyaka* which also is a wood coming from the islands and very near the *tailapaṇṇika* which we have just described.

kāliyakā dukūlaś ca hīṅgavas tailapaṇṇikāḥ.

It should be noted here that Kauṭilya names the *kāleyaka* as one of the best qualities (*sāra*) of the *tailapaṇṇika* and that he clearly mentions its habitat as the land of Gold: *kāleyakāḥ svarṇabhūmijaḥ snigdhapītakāḥ*; its colour is smooth yellow. Secondly the name of *dukūla* is applied to a fine fabric made with the fibres of the *dukūla* plant; but the PW categorically says that the word never means a "silken fabric" as is very often said. Amara, II, 6, 113 classes *dukūla* under the same heading as that of linen fabric (*kṣauma*) but this is certainly a mistake; the Mahābhārata (XIII, 5503, adhy. 111; and 7175, adhy., 151) clearly distinguishes the two fabrics. The *dukūla* also is found in the section of fabrics in the Mahā Vyutpatti (280, [279] 4); the Tibetan translator remains contented in transcribing the word as: *du-ku-la'i-ras*; the Chinese translator gives it as "fabric of *ko*;" the *ko* is according to Giles a kind of creeping pea plant (*Pueraria Thumbergiana* Bent.) of which the fibres are often used for spinning a fabric.

Kauṭilya knows different kinds of *dukūla*: "The *Vaṅgaka* is white and smooth; the *Paṇḍraka* has a deep colour and is dazzling like precious stones; it is spun...in uniform, or mixed texture." The *Vaṅgaka* is the *dukūla* of Bengal; the *Paṇḍraka* is that of *Puṇḍra-vardhana*, the country between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The *Sauvarṇakuḍyaka* remains undetermined.

The third and the last article coming from *Suvarṇakuḍya* is the *patroṇā*. The word is analysed as *patra-urṇā* "the wool of tree leaves;" it must also have been a plant product. Kauṭilya enumerates three varieties of it: "The *patroṇā* are: the *Māgadhika*, the *Paṇḍrika* and the *Sauvarṇakuḍyaka*; they come from *nāgavṛkṣa*, *likuca*, *bakula* and *vaṭa*. That which comes from *nāgavṛkṣa* is yellowish; that of *likuca* has the colour of the wheat blades; that of the

bakula is white; the last has the colour of butter." Kauṭilya then adds: "Thus are also explained the cocoon silk and the stuffs of China." According to him therefore the patrora and the China silk are of the same class. The trees mentioned have no such peculiarity as to help in their localisation. The Mahābhārata places the patrora (masc.) at the head of the fabrics, before cocoon silk (*kausiṇa*), the muslin (*amśuka*) the *dukūla*, the cotton fabric (*kārpāsiṇa*), the tuile (*paṭṭa*) and the linen fabric (*kṣauma*) in an interesting passage (XIII, 5501) on punishment for theft after death. The same epic also knows *Patrora* but as an ethnic; it mentions the *Patrora* among the peoples who came to pay homage to Yudhiṣṭhira, II, 51, 1874.

*Vaṅgāḥ Kālīṅgā Magadhās Tāmraliptāḥ sa-Puṇḍrakāḥ
Dauvālikāḥ Sāgarakāḥ Patroraṇāḥ Śaiśavās tatha Kārṇapra-
vāraṇās caiva.*

The *Vaṅga*, the *Magadha*, the *Puṇḍra*, ^{ka} are found exactly near *Suvarṇakudya*; the *Kālīṅga*, the *Tāmralipta* (from *Tāmralipti*=*Tamluk*, near the mouths of the Ganges) also take us to the same region, the north-east of the Indian continent while going towards the sea that borders on the *Sāgaraka*; the *Kārṇappravāraṇa* also take us to the trans-Gangetic India; the *Dauvālika* and the *Śaiśava* are otherwise unknown. But ^{he} would be risky to base any conclusion on this text because the southern edition (II, 78, 93) reads the passage quite differently :

*Vaṅkāḥ Kālīṅgā Magadhās Tāmraliptāḥ sa-Puṇḍrakāḥ
dukūlam kauṣiṇam caiva patroraṇāṇi caiva Bhārata
upāvṛtā nṛpās tasya daduḥ pritiṁ na cāgaman.*

The *patrora* like the *dukūla* and the silk of cocoon is here only characteristic dress of the kings of the north-east, *Vaṅga*, *Kālīṅga*, *Magadha*, *Tāmralipta* and *Puṇḍra*. This time the Dictionary of *Amara* and its commentators help us in determining the sense of the word. *Amara* writes (II, 6, 3, 14):

patroraṇāṁ dhautakauśeyarāṁ bahumūlyāṁ mahādhanāṁ

"patrora (neuter), washed silk, valuable article, "very dear"

Kṣīrasvāmin comments—*lakucavaṭāḍipatreṣu kṛimilāloraṇākṛtaṁ patroraṇāṁ pṛsodarādītūāt*: "*patrora*, grammatical composition of the type of *pṛsodara* is a fabric of wool drivelled by insects on the leaves of *lakuca*, *vaṭa* etc." The Tibetan translator (*manuṣyavarga*, 11) once more remains contented by transcribing the word; his evidence is not however superfluous at least for the second part of the hemistich

which most of the commentators take as an isolated entity; thus Sarvānanda comments on it: *bahumūlyam yat kim api tām mahādhanam na vastram eva* "all that costs dear is *mahādhana*, great treasure; it does not mean only stuff." But the Tibetan translator renders the line of Amara thus: *pa. tra. urna. dar. gos. bk'rus. gos. chen. nor. po. chen. zes. bya* "patra-urna, stuff of washed silk famous as a great wear, a great treasure." The explanation of Kṣīrasvāmin proves that *patrona* is what is called "tussor." According to Kautilya the best tussor was supplied by the country of Suvarṇakuḍya; but his opinion enunciated without any justification does not as yet help us in locating the country which he had in view.

The Brhat Samhitā of Varāha Mihira in its chapter on astrological geography, XIV, 9, mentions the word Hemakuṭya in its list of peoples and countries in the south-west, mixed up with the Island of Bulls, the islands of Coconut and Skin, the inhabitants of the interior of the Vindhya, Tripurī, the Bearded people (Śmaśrudhara), the Serpent-necked (Vyālagrīva), the Big-necked (Mahāgrīva), etc. *Hemakuṭya* is the reading admitted by Kern in his text; but in fact, of the eight manuscripts one has *-kūṭā*, three have *-kuṭyā*, one *-kuḍyā* and the last *-kuḍya*; this is the form that has been accepted by the commentator Utpala (10th cent.) who defines it as a name of place and not as an ethnic. Here again the analogy of *-kūṭa* comes in just in the Niddesa and it has influenced the editor who later on preferred the reading *-kuḍya* which also occurs in Parāśara, in his translation of the same text (JRAS., n.s. V, p. 83). The suggestion of the word *kūṭa* is strong in this particular case as the word in combination with the word for gold and specially the word *hema* is used to mean a famous chain of hills in the epic and Puranic geography (see *infra*, p. 94); Varāha Mihira proceeds with his enumeration in such a disorderly manner that it is impossible to make any positive use of his text; the Coconut islands (Nātikela) which is known from numerous other sources is the Nicobar archipelago but the Vindhya mountains are mentioned soon after it. Besides the names which are mentioned along with Hemakuḍya are borrowed from geographical folklore and do not contain any precise information.

No positive results are obtained from this long enquiry on the country of the Wall of Gold, Suvarṇakuḍya or Hemakuḍya. One point however has been gained. The real existence of this country to the south-east of India in the direction of Java has been proved. The Chinese geography of the first few centuries of the Christian era

mention in the same region a country which is not without analogy to Suvarṇakudya; it is *kin lin*. The first character *kin* means gold; the second is generally written and means "neighbour." M. Pelliot (BEFE-O., IV, p. 266 ff.) interprets it as "the frontier of gold"; M. Takakusu (*A Record*, p. 17) had translated it as "Golden neighbours." But instead of the word *lin*, 'neighbour', some texts give the homophones of meaning quite differently as rivulet, elect. Instead of *lin* there is also *ch'en*, extend. All these variants indicate clearly that the second syllable has only a phonetic value; the different characters for *lin* go back to an ancient pronunciation *ljen* and the character *ch'en* to *d'ien* which are normal transcriptions of a nasalised *dya*. If *Kin-lin* corresponds to Suvarṇakudya, *kin* is a translation of the first word and *lin* (*ch'en*) is a partial transcription of the second. It is unnecessary to reproduce here the texts that M. Pelliot has collected in his article in the *Bulletin*; it will be enough to give a résumé of the essential data. The *Kin-lin* was situated to the west of Fu-nan along a large bay. The distance between the two countries is more than 2,000 li. Beyond *Kin-lin* by sailing more than 3,000 li towards the south one can reach the four countries: *Pien-tou* (*Pan-tou*), *Tu-k'un* (or *Tu-kun*), *Kiu-li* (*Kiu-ya*) and *Pi-song*. "In regard to agriculture these people are identical with those of the *Kin-lin*. Among these people there are many who are white coloured. *Tu-k'un* alone produces the aromatic called *tsien hiang*." M. Berthold Laufer from whom I have borrowed this translation of the *T'ai-ping huan yu ki* (JA., 1918, II, p. 26) is of opinion that the aromatic referred to is the aloe wood. *Pi-song* reminds us of Vesuṅga, *Tu-k'un* or *Tu-kun* of Takkola, so much so that a Chinese botanical treatise referred to by Laufer (*ibid.*, p. 25, n. 2) describes a tree named *tu-k'un* which is a native of *Kiu-chen* and *Kiao-chi* and its fruits "which have the size of the eggs of hen. The local people pick them and eat them. The taste of nut and bark is like that of vinegar." This description reminds us of the *Pimenta acris* which has been tentatively taken (rather wrongly, on account of its characteristics) as a possible equivalent of the *takkola* plant. But we are here on a slippery ground where it will be unwise to wait long.

The list of ports which we feel tempted to call an itinerary then comes back to India *via* Ceylon (Tāmbapaṇṇi, Taprobane) and the western coast Suppara (Sopara), Bharukaccha (Barygaza, Broach), Surattha (Surat) and a few other halting places which it is difficult to identify without discussion (but which strangely remind the periplus of

the Rāmāyaṇa such as Aṅgaloka, Taṅgana). The list then mentions the Greek country (Yona), the "Great Greece?" (Paramayona) and Alexandria (Alasanda). I pass over the enigmatical Marukantara in order to go to the list of roads which closes this enumeration: "The road of knees (*jaṇṇupatha* but according to a variant: *suvaṇṇapatha*, the way of gold and cf. *infra* p. 96 *vaṇṇupatha*), the road of the goats (*ajapatha*), the road of the sheep (*meṇḍhapatha*), the road of stakes (*saṅkūpatha*), the road of umbrellas (*chattapatha*), the road of bamboos (*vaṁsapatha*) the road of birds (*sakūṇapatha*), the road of mice (*muṣikāpatha*), the road of caves (*daripatha*) and the crossing with canes (*vettācāra*)." This long enumeration of unusual roads till now unknown in Indian literature is found to a large extent in the Sanskrit adaptations of the Bṛhatkathā, the Ślokaśaṃgraha of which M. Lacote has published only a half; but he has given an analysis of the whole manuscript in his beautiful work: *Essai sur Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā*. The 18th chapter speaks of the adventures of a merchant's son named Sānudāsa who is the hero of an astonishing series of maritime adventures. After several ship-wrecks, Sānudāsa gets "enrolled in the band of the adventurer Acera who prepares for an expedition to the land of Gold. After crossing the sea they land at the foot of a mountain. They ascend the mountain by clinging to the creepers: it is the "road of creepers." On reaching the plateau they come to a river which turns everything that falls in it into stone; they cross the river by holding the tops of the bamboos inclined on the banks of the river—it is the "road of bamboos." Further on they come to a steep path between two precipices; they kindled fire with the wet branches of trees; its smoke attracted the Kirāta who came with the proposal of selling goats to them; the adventurers rode on the goats, sure-footed animals who alone are capable of going over the precipitous ridge without vertigo; it is the road of the goats. They could not reach the end of the road without difficulty as another band was coming from the opposite direction; a fight ensued and the Acera's band passed after throwing the adversaries into the ravine. Sānudāsa now began to resent the ferocity of the gold searching party. Acera then ordered the goats to be killed and to cover them with the skin with the inner side exposed, so that big birds on taking the men to be pieces of fresh meat would carry them to their place—the place of gold. Sānudāsa vainly tried to save the goat which had carried him, his companions were without pity. Everything happened as Acera had announced. But the bird which was carrying Sānudāsa was

attacked by another bird which disputed the other's prey; the goat's skin was torn and Sānudāsa fell in a tank in the midst of a luxuriant forest. On the next morning he discovered a river of which the banks were of gold dust" (*Essai sur Guṇāḍhya*, p. 175 ff.).

M. Lacote was kind enough to communicate to me the complete text of the episode; but I would not like to take away the interest of his work by publishing here a piece of finished beauty in which the author has deliberately collected the details which give a strange feeling of local colour.

The summary that I have reproduced will suffice to prove the perfect correspondence between the Niddesa and the Brhatkathā; an examination of the original text confirms this impression and also helps us to complement it. The "path of creepers" is more exactly the "path of sticks."

eṣa vetrapatho nāma sarvotsāhavighātākṛt.

"That is the Vetrapatha, as they call it," cried out the leader of the caravan to his companions," firmly ^{holding} in your hand one of the sticks of the reeds for scaling the mountain. The stick should be soft, compact and neither dry nor defective; the fool who holds to a different kind of stick will march to the hell."

*etās ca komaḷāḥ sthūlāḥ śoṣadoṣādivivariṭtāḥ
hetair vetralatā gāḍhaṁ ālambyārohatācalaṁ
lāṇān anidrīṣim mohād yaḥ kaścid avalambate
pramīto himavaty asmin sa prayāti parām gatim*

Vetralatā is not a creeper, but a reed stick a "rattan," as we call it, or more exactly a "rattan stick." It is a synonym of *vetrayaṣṭi*. For example, in the Pañcatantra (I, 1) where Piṅgalaka, seeing Damana coming on a visit tells the door-keeper (*dvāḥśtha*): "Lay aside your cane stick (*apasārayatām vetralatā*)." The cane stick was the insignia of the door-keeper and was used by him to bar the passage. There is therefore no question of "hold to" but of "leaning on." It is therefore exactly the Vettadhara or Vettacara of the Niddesa.

The "path of bamboos" which is called *Vamśapatha* in the Niddesa is named *Veṇupatha* in the Ślokasaṁgraha.

eṣa veṇupatho nāma mahāpathavibhīṣaṇaḥ

Veṇu is the synonym of *Vamśa* and the poet makes use of the two words as occasion arises:

*varṁsān paśyatha yān asyāḥ parasmīn saritas taṭe
arvākḥkūlam nudaty etān paṭur parataṭānīlaḥ
eṣām anyatamaṁ gāḍhaṁ gṛhṇīdhvaṁ maskaraṁ karaiḥ*

*vāte mantharatām yāte maskarāt tuṅgatām gatāt
parasminn apagāpāre śanakair avarohata*

"Look at these bamboos (*vaṁśa*) on the opposite bank of the river which is bent by the wind from the other bank to this bank. When wind will blow softly and the bamboos will begin to stand erect hold one of the bamboos firmly in your hand and you will get down on the other bank."

The river to be crossed in this manner is a petrifying river. "Do not touch it! The fool that touches it is changed into stone."

mūḍhaiḥ sprṣtaṁ idaṁ yair yais te te pāśānatām gatāḥ

We have already found in the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna the mention of "the river which yields stones; whatever falls in it, either plant, tree, living being, animal or bird, all become stone then and there. On the two sides of this river the reeds called *kīcaka* being shaken by the wind get interlaced" (JA., 1918, II, p. 54) I have already pointed out there (ibid.) the parallel passage from the Rāmāyaṇa; I may be excused for quoting it once again on account of its perfect agreement with the Bṛhatkathā:

*taṁ tu deśaṁ atikramyaśailodā nāma nimnagā
ubhayos tīrayos tasyāḥ kīcakā nāma veṇavaḥ
sā na śakyā taritum hi nadī paramadurgamā
tasyāḥ sprṣtaiva salilaṁ naraḥ śailo 'bhijā-
te'pi tīragatās tasyā nadyāḥ kīcakaveṇavaḥ
samāgachanty ayatnena saṁgamaṁ ca paraḥ paraṁ
te nayanti paraṁ tīraṁ siddhān pratyanayanti ca*

(Rāmāy. IV, 44, 77-78 G; 43, 37 B.)

"Passing this place the river of stone-water is found. There are the bamboos called *kīcaka* on its two banks. It is a wild river and cannot be crossed because if a man touches its water he gets petrified. And these *kīcaka* bamboos which grow on its banks are in contact with each other without any effort and they carry and carry back the saints from one bank to the other." The Mahābhārata only makes a passing reference to it (II, 51, 1858):

śailodām abhito nadīm

ye te kīcakaveṇunām chāyān ramyām upāsate.

"Those who enjoy the pleasing shade of the *kīcaka* bamboo near the river Stone-water." But the most unexpected correspondence is supplied by Ptolemy. He had collected the unanimous evidence and ulterior confirmations from those who had navigated the sea towards India, those who had stayed there long and also from the

travellers who had come from that country. He was informed by them "on India, province by province in detail and also on the distant places in the interior of the country up to the Peninsula of Gold and then up to Kattigara." "They say that beyond Sinai there is again the country of Seres and its capital and that further to the north there is an unknown land with marshy tanks in which grow big reeds which are so closely connected that people can go over to the opposite side by holding them. And also there is a road which not only proceeds to Bactria over a stone-tower but also to India by Palimbothra" (I, 17, 41). It seems we have here the germ of the legend which the Indian imagination has transformed in its own manner; the Lob-nor marshes which lay along the road opened by the Han across Serindia towards the west had soon passed through the strange accounts of the caravans into the folklore, both of the Greek and the Indian worlds. In India they were soon made to agree with the account of the river about which Ctesias and Megasthenes had heard since the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. that nothing could float on it and that everything would sink straightway. The name Sillas or Silias which Megasthenes gives to it is directly connected with *śilā* "stone" from which is derived *śaila* which has the same meaning and which combined with *uda* "water" gives the Sanskrit name of the river Śailodā. The form Side as given by Ctesias shows the substitution of *d* for *l* through the intermediary of an Iranian narrator.

The indications given by the texts on the course of the river of Stone-water clearly proves that the legend in India as in the Hellenic world had its starting point or its connexions in Central Asia. The Mahābhārata (II, 5, 1858) in complete agreement with the Rāmāyaṇa (IV, G. 44, 76, B. 43, 37) and the Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-Sūtra relates the Śailodā between the mountain Meru and the Mandara in the neighbourhood of the Khasa, Pārada, Kulinda and Taṅgaṇa which are all Himalayan people. The Mandara, as we have seen before, is the chain in the region of the Upper Irawaddy, the Meru roughly appears to be the Pamirs. According to the Matsya P. (120, 19-23) the Śailodā originates from the mount Aruṇa to the west of the Kailāśa and flows into the Western ocean. According to the Vāyu P. (47, 20-21) it flows out of a lake with the same name situated at the foot of the mount Muñjavat and flowing between the Cakṣu and the Sitā reaches the Salt Ocean. The Cakṣu is only an alteration of the scribe, already recognised, of the name of the Oxus (Vakṣu; for

such confusions between c and v which have given rise to doublets cf. *supra*, *Vilāṭa* from *Cilāṭa*, the Beseidai of Ptolemy VII (2, 15 as compared to Sesatai of the Periplus). The *Sītā* is the Tarim. The *Śailodā* is therefore the river of Khotan; the stones that have given the name of *Śailodā* to it would be the jade pebbles. The legend of the objects metamorphosed in contact of the water would be due to the figures cut out from the jade that had been carried to long distances by the merchants.

I cannot help suggesting here a possibility which seems to attain a degree of probability. The name *Kīcaka* appears in epic literature as a new word, connected with the wonders of the *Śailodā*: *kīcakā nāma veṇavaḥ* "the bamboos that are called kīcaka" as expressly mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. We know that when the Chinese ambassador, Chang Kien reached the country of Ta-hia (Bactria) he was surprised to find there bamboo sticks of Kiung and the Chinese fabrics of Sse-chuan. M. L. Fer who has written a remarkable dissertation on the "bamboo sticks of Kiung" (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 535) seems to have established that it is the square bamboo (*Bambusa* or *Phyllostachys quadrangularis*) which grow in Kuang-si and Sse-chuan. If the bamboo had been a regular article of commerce between China and India, it would not be surprising if the name had been carried there with the object. The name of bamboo in Chinese is *chū* of which the ancient pronunciation was *chok* (*cok*). The word *kī* occurs with so many Chinese characters that it is impossible to make a choice which would not be arbitrary. It seems there was a combination (*kī* bamboo) of which *kīcaka* was the Sanskrit transcription. Amara (II, 4, 161; *Lois*, II, 4, 5, 27) defines it in a general manner as:

kīcakā veṇavas te syur ye svananty aniloddhutāḥ

"The *kīcakas* are a kind of bamboo which make sound when shaken by the wind." Kṣīrasvāmin tries to explain it in his manner with the help of a verbal root *-kīti cakaṭi kīcakāḥ/kīceti, kīyati vā*: the name is *kīcaka* because it shakes making a *kī* sound or rather it makes a *kīca* sound. Sarvānanda proposes another etymology *-ye kīṭādibhiḥ kṛtarandhrapaṅktayo veṇavaḥ śabdām kurvanti te kīcakāḥ*: the bamboo which has a series of holes made by insects etc. and which makes sound *kīcaka*. He seems to have thought of a connection between *kīcaka* and *kīṭa*, insect. But Kālidāsa who seems to take a delight in mentioning these melodious bamboos connect them with the Himalaya and the Kinnara already in the first verses of the

Kumārasambhava (I, 8) in which he mentions the sacred mountain of which Pārvatī is the daughter :

*yah pūrayan kīcakaṇḍhrabhāgān
darimukḥhotthena samīraṇena
udgāsyatām icchati kinnarāṇām
tānapradāyitvam ivopagantum*

"He fills the holes in the kīcaka with the breeze issuing from the mouths of the caverns as if he wished to supply the musical sound to the Kinnaras ready to sing."

The Kinnaras with the heads of horses (Aśvamukha) who were musicians in the service of the gods are regularly placed in the extreme North between the Himalaya and the Hemakūṭa; Bāṇa who lived in the court of Harṣa at a time when the relations between India and China were the most active writes in his Kādambārī (p. 136, ed. Peterson): "The mountain Hemakūṭa is found in the north of this continent, in the continent which has the name of Kimpuruṣa (Kinnara) not very far from this place (i.e. the country of the Kirāta with golden locks and their capital—*Suvarṇapura*, the city of gold, where the event takes place)"—*itaś ca nātidure tasyāsmād bhāratavarṣād uttareṇānantare kimpuruṣanāmni varṣe varṣaparvato hemakūṭo nāma nivāsaḥ*. The same author records again that Arjuna was first compelled to pass through the Empire of China in order to conquer Hemakūṭa (Harṣacarita, ed. Kane, p. 59: *Pāṇḍavah savyasācī Cinaviṣayam atikramya Hemakūṭaparvatam parājaiṣṭa*).

The path of the birds (*śakunapatha*) mentioned in the Niddesa is not expressly named in the Ślokaṣaṃgraha but all the same it has been clearly described; it consists in allowing oneself to be carried by a bird of large size in order to be transported to an inaccessible place: the adventures of the Sindbad the Sailor as described in the *Arabian Nights* supplies a celebrated application of this method of transport. A last analysis might show its connection with the Bṛhatkathā. Marco Polo and Nicolo Conti have again collected this fable while speaking of the diamond mines of the Dekkhan in India itself.

I have left aside the path of the rams (*meṇḍhapatha*), path of pikes (*śaṅku-*), path of umbrella (*chatra-*), the path of rats (*muṣika-*) and path of caverns (*dari-*). These names probably allude to the events in the same episode. The path of the rams might refer to that part of the account where it is said that the travellers hide themselves in the upturned skin of the animals carrying them which had been killed in order to attract the carnivorous birds. The path of the

pikes might refer to pointed bamboo pieces (*ḥunta*) with which the travellers arm themselves in order to fight on the path of goats and to push down below the caravans coming from the opposite direction; this is at least the most probable meaning, because *śaṅku* means a pike, a stake, javelin. The meaning of the word *chatta* in *chattapatha* is too uncertain to allow an useful conjecture (as to its meaning). The *daripatha*, the road of caverns, seems to have been again alluded to when the poet describes the large birds which run like the roc of Sindbad :

paṅsavanta ihāhāryā daridaritacañcavaḥ

"they look like mountains who had saved their wings with caverns dug by their beaks."

The *muṣikapatha* alone is totally missing from the Ślokaśaṃgraha.

It is highly significant that two of these picturesque names, names which occur together, are found in the grammatical tradition. Patañjali while commenting on the Sūtra V, I, 77 of Pāṇini: *uttarāpathe nāhṛtaṃ ca* quotes a vārttik of Kātyāyana :

ajapathasāṅkupathābhyāṃ ca

"also in the case (of a person who passes) and also of a (merchandise which is imported) by ajapatha and sāṅkupatha (the derivatives *ajapathika* and *sāṅkupathika* are formed)." That it is the case of merchandises is proved by the exception that follows :

madhukamaricayor aṇ sthālāt

"so far as the madhuka and marica (imported by the route) of land the adjective form derived with sthala is *sthālapatha*." The madhuka in neuter is the liquorice wood (*abrus precatorius*) which is found everywhere in India whether plains or hills and which therefore could not have been an object of importation in this country; it means tin according to Hemacandra, Halāyudha and Medinikoṣa, although Amara does not give this meaning. Tin came essentially from the Malaysian region as it does even now. The marica is black pepper (*piper nigrum*) which is quite different from long pepper; "the black pepper is found everywhere in the countries of the Southern Barbarians, Kiao-che (Tonkin), Yunnan etc" (Li Chi-tchen, referred to by Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 375); Chao Ju-kua (Hirth-Rockhill 222) says that black pepper comes to China from Java and that of Sunda (Sint'o) is the best of all. With these two articles we are therefore back to the Land of Gold (Suvarṇabhūmi) which the caravan of the Bṛhatkathā was trying to enter by the Ajapatha and that formidable series of routes.

The Ajapatha and the Śaṅkupatha occur again in the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini V, 3, 100 *devapathādibhyaś ca*; it is an *ākṛtigaṇa* and consequently the enumeration is not exhaustive: *deva-*, *haṃsa-*, *vāri-ratha-*, *sthala-*, *ṇari-*, *aja-*, *rāja-*, *śata-*, *śaṅku-* etc. Candragomin in his grammar has introduced the two vārttikas: IV, 1. 89 *ajaśaṅkūttara-vārijaṅgalakāntārādīnāḥṛte ca*; 90 *sthalādīnā-*, 91 *madhuḥkamaricayor uṇ-*. He has not tried to support the rule *devapathādibhyaś ca* in his grammar; he has simply relegated it to his commentary on IV, 3, 78, *ive samjñāpratīkṛtyoh* (Pāṇini V, 3, 96 and 97) *tathā devapatho haṃsapatha ity evamādiṣu vyavasthītabhāṣyā ko na bhaviṣyati*.

The *vettācara* or *vettācāra* and the *śaṅkupatha* appear again in a couple of other texts of the Pāli Buddhist literature. The Milinda mentions them with *ajapatha*, p. 280: "It is like a man without fortune, in quest of fortune, in the search of fortune, who goes forward by the path of goats, the path of pikes, the path of rattans (*yathā puriso adhano dhanatthika dhanapariyosanam caramāno ajapatham śaṅkupatham vettapatham gacchati*). In the *Ttirajāṭaka* (*Jāṭaka*, III, 541) the tiger explains to the lion the causes of his suspicion against a suspicious person by saying: "He has passed through the country of Kāliṅga, he has carried on the business of a merchant, he has crossed the passages of rattans and pikes (*ciṇṇā kāliṅgā catitā vaṇijjā vettācaro śaṅkupatho pi ciṇṇo*). The commentary explains *śaṅkupatha* as *khāṇukamāṇa* "the path of the stakes." But the most interesting account is found in the Vimānavatthu LXXXIV. The merchants of the countries of Aṅga and Magadha while going to Sindhu-Sovira lost their way in the desert "in the middle of the path of sands" (*vaṇṇupathassa majjhe*, cf. *jaṇṇupatha*, *supra*). A Yakṣa then appeared to them and told them— "You are going to make your wealth on the other side of the ocean in the sands like this, across the rattan, the path of pikes, rivers, difficult mountain passages in distant lands" (*pāraṇi samuddassa imaṇ ca vaṇṇum vettācaram śaṅkupathaṇ ca maggam/nadiyo pana pabbatanaṇ ca duggā puthudisā gacchatha bhogaḥetu*//). Here again the unusual roads are located once more beyond the seas, as in the Niddesa and the Milinda. Now in the Jataka also they are found to be connected with the name of Kāliṅga, the country from which the people used to sail for Land of Gold.

The Purāṇas also have noted some references to this list but it is very vague. The Matsya P. (115, 56) while describing the courses of the seven rivers which come down from the heaven and form the

celestial Gaṅgā has given the following brief description of the course of the Nalinī—

56. *tataṣ tu Nalinī cāpi prācim eva diśam yayau*
Kupathān plāvayantī sā Inaradyumnasarāmsy api
 57. *tathā Kharapathān deśān Vetrāśaṅkḥapathān api*
madhyenōjjānakamarūn Kuthaprāvaraṇān yayau
 58. *Indradvīpasariṇīpe tu praviṣṭā lavaṇodadhim*

The Vāyu P. (47, 54 ff.) has the same verses but with the variants : *Apathān* for *Kupathān*, *saro pi ca* for *sarāmsy api*; *Indra Śaṅkupathān* for *vetraśaṅku-*, *madhyenodyānamaskarān* for *-ōjjānakamarūn*. Thus the Nalinī while flowing to the east waters the country of bad paths (or pathless), and also the lakes (or lake) of Indradyumna, and then the Country of the path of mules, the Country of the path of rattans (paths of Indra) and of the paths of conch (or paths of pikes). It then passes through the deserts of Ujjānaka (or the bamboos of gardens), Kuthaprāvaraṇa, and near the continent of Indra it enters the Salt Ocean. The Nalinī is, from the Ganges which flows into the South sea (*daḥṣiṇodadhi*) the second of the three rivers which passing northwards flows towards the east. It is to be noted that the Matsya has preserved the correct reading in the case of Vetrapatha, altered by the Vāyu as Indrapatha and on the other hand the Vāyu has the correct reading Śaṅkupatha altered by the Matsya as Śaṅkḥapatha. The Kharapatha, the path of mules, is to be naturally put together with Ajapatha and Meṇḍhapatha of the other texts. The mention of the Indradyumnasaras shows in what region the two Purāṇas locate these people. In fact the Mahābhārata tells us (I, 119, 4639) that after his renunciation Pāṇḍu went from his capital (Delhi) to the mountains and from there to Caitraratha; he then crossed the Kālakūṭa, the Himavat, the Gandhamādana; he then went to the Indradyumna lake, crossed the Hamsakūṭa and reached the mount Śataśṛṅga. The Harivaṃśa (8993) also locates the Indradyumna lake in the neighbourhood of Hamsakūṭa. The Mahābhārata (III, 199, 13337) has preserved a legend on the origin of this lake; the innumerable cows offered by Indradyumna to the Brahmins as their payment are said to have dug it while passing through the water that went with the gifts. It is evidently to Central Asia that the Purāṇas and the Epic lead us; the desert through which the Nalinī flowed would be the Taklamakan. Here the fantasy comes near to the reality.

The relation between the two texts, the Niddesa and the Bṛhatkathā, which we have compared comes out in a more clear and defi-

nite perspective if we compare the Niddesa with other accounts of adventure which have drawn upon the same data. I would like to take up as a counter proof, a Buddhist text, a sweet romance of adventures preserved in the Divyāvadāna (VII). This is the Supriyāvadāna. In order to reach the magic city, Supriya has to pass through countries, mountains and seas full of perils and difficulties; I will retain only those traits of the text which are common with the steps mentioned in other texts. In the forest of copper (*Tāmrāṭavī*) resides the serpent Copper-Eye (*Tāmrākṣa*) above him is found a thicket of bamboos (*veṇugulma*); in this thicket of bamboos there is a large rock-*(āśmaśilā)*; it has to be removed by a vigorous effort and then opens out a cave (*guhā*); in this cave a magical herb grows.....Further on there are seven mountains covered with thorny bamboos (*kaṇṭha-kaveṇu*); one of these mountains is a mountain with three pikes (*Triśaṅku*); it is full of raised pointed thorns; one has to bind the legs with rattan nets (*vetra-pāśa*).....then there is the slippery mountain which has to be scaled with millions of iron pikes (*ayaṣkīlānām koṭyā*).....When all these trials are overcome, "thou shalt find in front of you a country of which earth is of gold (*suvarṇabhūmim pṛthivīpradeśam*) and in which the people are flourishing and prosperous." But beyond it there are new dangers one of them being that three mountains which rise bend themselves. They may be scaled only with a rattan ladder (*vetraśiṭā*). The story of the Sudhanakumāra in the same collection (Divy. XXX) refers also to some of the traits of the two itineraries. The hero has to cross to the north of Himalayas seven mountains: the entrance in the Khadiraka mountain is a cavern, that of the mount Ekadhāraka is of pikes (*kīlakāh*), that of the mount Vajraka is by the king of birds (*paṅśirājena*), which one has to enter." In the last case the author supposes that his reader is sufficiently familiar with such stories and remains satisfied by making a simple allusion. But nowhere, so far as I know, we can find in the world of Indian fictions a total enumeration of identical traits which may be compared with the last part of Niddesa list as well as with the Summary of the Brhatkathā.

Arrived at the end of this study we may now bring out the conclusions:

1. The exactitude of Ptolemy, the veracity of his information on Trans-Gangetic India are now definitely established with the corresponding testimony of the Mahāniddesa. The Greek Science which was on the point of death still manifests in the work of this great Mathe-

matician a taste for the correctness of facts in which he is without comparison in the ancient world.

2. The agreement of Ptolemy with the Mahāniddesa raises and also resolves the problem of the date of this commentary. The passage discussed above is guaranteed by its repetition in the same text; it does not give motive to suspect it as an interpolation. The state of the knowledge of maritime relations presupposed by it fits in only with a period about the time of Ptolemy. Towards the end of the first century A.D., Pliny and the Periplus almost know nothing about the Far-East; the merchants who then frequented the ports of Barygaza and Muziris had not been able to collect as yet informations in these busy ports on the navigation to the east of India; it was still a question if Taprobane was an island or a continent connected with Africa. After Ptolemy we have no text whether Greek or Indian to be added to Ptolemy and Niddesa. Cosmas who claims the title of Indikopleustes in the beginning of the 6th century knows well the western coast and Ceylon, but he does not know anything on the world beyond it. So far as India is concerned, the splendid epigraphic discoveries of the end of the 19th century and specially the work of the French explorers in Indo-China have revealed on the other hand the expansion of Sanskrit culture since the 3rd century to countries ignored by the Niddesa—Cambodia, Champa and Borneo. It could not have failed to mention them in its list of ports of commerce had it known them. It is almost certain that in the first century an Indian writer would not have been able to prepare such a list of ports of the Far-East as we find in the Niddesa; after the 3rd century the list would have been supplemented on account of the new mention of more distant countries. The date of the list and of the work which contains it, should therefore be placed between the end of the first and the end of the 3rd century. Now the Niddesa is held to be a canonical text; the Theravada School, the Pāli Buddhist Church, never questioned its sacred character. The Pāli canon therefore had not been constituted before the 2nd century of the Christian era. The partial but striking agreement of some of the names of this list of the Niddesa with an analogous list of the Milinda would place this last text in the same period.

It is surprising that the eastern coast of India does not at all figure in this maritime itinerary which extends from the Far East to the Far West. It may be an indication to determine the country in which the Niddesa was composed.

3. Last of all, the agreement between the list of the extraordinary routes by which the journey is performed and the episode of the *Bṛhatkathā Ślokaśaṃgraha* raises the problem of the relation of the two texts. The legend in the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā* place *Guṇāḍhya*, the author of the original collection, in the time of King *Sātavāhana* i.e. in the first two centuries of the Christian era. The *Sātavāhanas* were the intermittent masters of the ports in the Bombay region which were disputed by the northern *Kṣatrapas*. And it was from these ports and specially from *Sūrpāraka*, as I expect to prove later on, that the vessels of Indian merchants used to sail for the Land of Gold *via* Ceylon, leaving aside the eastern coast of India as done also by the list of the *Niddesa*. If *Guṇāḍhya* lived in the court of the *Sātavāhanas* at *Pratiṣṭhāna* (*Paithan*) their capital, it was easy for him to collect the wonderful stories of first sailors who had explored the land and the islands of Gold. But *Guṇāḍhya* "is the third of the epic triad" (*Lacote—Essai sur Guṇāḍhya*, p. 10) this *Bṛhatkathā* goes in pair with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the literary history of India. We have shown (*JA.*, 1918, II: *Pour l'Histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*) that the compiler of a *Sūtra* which is also a text in the garb of an authentic word of Buddha, had not thought it beneath his dignity to borrow from *Vālmikī* the description of a long journey which embraces the whole world. We need not therefore be surprised if the author of a simple commentary had borrowed the part of another itinerary from another *Vālmikī* viz. *Guṇāḍhya*. Thus the history of the development of geographical knowledge supplies us with a new method of research on the history of Indian literature from which useful results might be expected.

TEXTS

I. *Mahāniddesa*

A.—P. 154: Atha vā kāmataṇhāya abhibūto pariyādinna-citto bhoge pariyesanto nāvāya mahāsamuddam pakkhandati, sītassa purakkhato, uṇhassa purakkhato, ḍaṃsamasa-kavātā-tapasirimsapa-samphassehi rissamāno khuppi-pāsāya pīḷiyamāno Gumbhaṃ (S. Gumbhaṃ) gacchati, Takkolaṃ ga-, Takkasilaṃ ga-, Kālamukhaṃ ga-, Maraṇapāraṃ ga- (Bp. Purapuraṃ, S. Parammukhaṃ) ga-, Vesuṅgaṃ ga-, Verāpathaṃ ga-, Javaṃ ga-, Tamaliṃ (Si Kamaliṃ, Bp. Tammalīṃ, S. Tammini) ga-, Vaṅgaṃ (Si Vaṅkaṃ) ga-, Eḷa-vaddhanaṃ (Bp. Eḷabandhanaṃ, S. Jalavanaṃ) ga-, Suvaṇṇakūṭaṃ ga-, Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ ga-, Tambapaṇṇiṃ ga-, Suppāraṃ ga-, (Bp. Suppāda-kaṃ, S. Suppāra-kaṃ) ga-, Bharukacchaṃ (Bp. Vharu-gacchaṃ [?], Si Bharuka, S. Bharukacchiṃ) ga-, Surattaṃ (Si Suraddhaṃ, S. Suraratthaṃ) ga-, Aṅgaṇekaṃ (Bp. Bhaṅgalokaṃ, S. omit) ga-, Gaṅgaṇaṃ (Bp. Bhaṅgaṇaṃ, S. Nagaṇaṃ) ga-, Parama-gaṅgaṇaṃ (Bp. Saramataṅgaṇaṃ [?], S. Padapanaṅgaṇaṃ) ga-, Yonaṃ (S. Sotaṃ) ga-, Paramayonaṃ (Si Pinaṃ) ga-, Allasandaṃ (Bp. Vinakaṃ, S. Navakaṃ) ga-, Marukantāraṃ (B. Mūlapadaṃ, S. Mūlapaddaṃ) ga-, Jaṇṇupathaṃ ga-, Ajapathaṃ ga-, Meṇḍha-pathaṃ ga-, Saṅkupathaṃ ga-, Chattapathaṃ ga-, Vaṃsapathaṃ (Si Aṃsa-) ga-, Sakuṇapathaṃ ga-, Mūsikapathaṃ ga-, Daripathaṃ ga-, Vettādhāraṃ ga-, (Si Cettā, Bp. S. Vettācāraṃ) ga-, evaṃ pi kissati parikissati parikilissati.

B.—P. 414: Atha vā rāgasallena otiṇṇo viddho phutṭho pareto samohito samannāgato bhoge pariyesanto nāvāya mahāsamuddam gacchati. sītassa purakkhato uṇhassa purakkhato ḍaṃsamakasavātā-tapasirimsapasamphassehi rissamāno khuppi-pāsāya miyyamāno (Bp. S. pīḷiyamāno) Gumbhaṃ (Si Khumbaṃ) gacchati, Takkolaṃ ga-, Takkasilaṃ ga-, Kālamukhaṃ ga-, Maraṇapāraṃ (Bp. Parapūraṃ, S. Parapuraṃ) ga-, Vesuṅgaṃ ga-, Verāpathaṃ (Bp. Vepathaṃ, S. Veyavaṃ) ga-, Javaṃ (S. Evaṃ) ga-, Tamaliṃ (Si Tambaliṅgaṃ) ga-, Vaṅgaṃ (Codd. Vaṅkaṃ) ga-, Eḷavaddhanaṃ (Bp. Eḷa-abaddhanaṃ, S. Eḷabandhanaṃ) ga-, Suvaṇṇakūṭaṃ ga-, Suvaṇṇabhūmiṃ ga-, Tambapaṇṇiṃ (S. Sampanniṃ) ga-, Suppāraṃ (Bp. Suppāda-kaṃ, S. omits) ga-, Bharukacchaṃ (Si Bharukaṃ, S. Bhārūkacchaṃ) ga-, Surattaṃ (Si Suraddhaṃ, Bp. Sudaṭṭhaṃ, S. Suṭṭhaṃ) ga-, Aṅgaṇekaṃ (Bp. S.

Aṅgalokaṁ ga-, Gaṅgaṇaṁ (Bp. Taṅgaṇaṁ) ga-, Paramagaṅgaṇaṁ (Bp.- taṅgaṇaṁ, S.- taṅkanaṁ) ga-, Yonaṁ ga-, Paramayonaṁ (Si Pinakaṁ, S. Vinakaṁ) ga-, Allasandaṁ (Bp. Sulaparaṁ, S. Sulapuram) ga-, Marukantāraṁ ga-, Jaṇṇupathaṁ (Bp. S. Suvanna-pathaṁ) ga-, Ajapathaṁ ga-, Meṇḍhapathaṁ ga-, Saṅkupathaṁ ga-, Chattapathaṁ ga-, Vamsapathaṁ (Si omit) ga-, Sakuṇapathaṁ ga-, Mūsikāpathaṁ ga-, Daripathaṁ ga-, Vettādhāraṁ (Bp. Vettācāraṁ) ga-.

II Milindapañha

A.—P. 359: yathā mahārāja sadhano nāviko paṭṭaṇe suṭṭhu kṛtasuṅko mahāsamuddaṁ pavisitvā Vaṅgaṁ Takkolaṁ Cīnaṁ Sovīraṁ Suratṭhaṁ Alasandaṁ Kolapaṭṭanaṁ Suvannaṇabhūmiṁ gacchati aññaṁ pi yam kiñci navasañcaraṇaṁ.

B.—P. 331: yathā mahārāja nagaravaḍḍhakī nagaraṁ māpetukāmo nagaraṁ māpeyya...atha...Saka-Yavana-Cīna-Vilātā-Ujjenakā Bhāru-kacchakā Kāsi-Kosalāparantakā Māgad^hakā Sāketakā Soratṭhakā Pāṭheyyakā Koṭumbara-Mādhurakā, Al^hānda-Kaśmīra-Gandhārā taṁ nagaraṁ Vāsāya upagatā...

C.—P. 327: sile paṭiṭṭhito yoniso manasikaronto Saka-Yavane pi Cīna-Vilāte pi Nikumbe pi Kāsi-Kosale pi Kaśmīre pi Gandhāre pi Nagamuddhani pi brahmaloke pi...nibbānaṁ sacchikaroti.

(^{di}c)

Ptolemy VII, 2

(Coedès—*Texts d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*)

1. Trans-Gangetic India begins: in the West from the Ganges, in the North from those parts of Scythia and Serica which have been already described, in the East from Sinai along a meridian from the ^w1 Serica to the Great gulf; in the South from the Indian Ocean and a ^w2 portion of the Sea of Prasodes which extend from the Menouthias is, and up to the Great Gulf following a line parallel (to the equator).

2. The Coast-line of this country has the following configuration:

In the Gangetic Gulf after the mouth of the Ganges called Antibolei:

In the country of the Airrhadoi:

Pentapolis	...	...	150°, 18°
Mouth of the river Katabeda	...	...	151° 20', 17°
Barakoura. market	...	...	152° 30', 16°
Mouth of the river Tokosanna	...	...	150°, 14°, 30' 1

3. In the Argyra country :

Sambra, city	...	...	153°30', 13°45'
Sada, city	...	...	154°20', 11°20'
Mouth of the Sadas river	...	...	153°30', 12°30'
Berabonna, market	...	...	155°30', 10°20'
Mouth of the Temala river	...	...	157°30', 10°
Temala, city	...	...	157°30', 9°
Cape situated after this city	...	...	157°20', 8°

4. In the country of the Cannibals called Besyngeitai in the Sarabaca gulf :

Sabara, city	...	...	159°30', 8°30'
Mouth of the Besynga river	...	...	162°20', 8°25'
Besynga, market	...	...	162°, 9°
Berabai, city	...	...	162°20', 6°
Cape situated after this city	...	...	159°, 4°40'

5. In the Golden Chersonesus :

Takola, market	...	...	160°, 4°15'
Cape situated after this city	...	...	158°40', 2°40'
Mouth of the Chrysoana river	...	...	159°, 1°
Sabana, market	...	...	160°, 3° south ²
Mouth of the Palandas river	...	...	161°, 2° south
Cape Maleou kolon	...	...	163°, 2° south
Mouth of the Attaba river	...	...	164°, 1° south
Koli, city	...	...	164°20'. equator
Perimoula	...	...	163°15', 2°20'
Perimoulica Gulf	...	...	169°30', 4°15'

17. Below the Argyra country where, it is reported, silver mines may be found, is situated the Chryse which is near Besyngeitai and also possesses a number of gold mines. The inhabitants of this country are also white skinned, hairy, deformed and flat-nosed.

Addition

(Relevant extract from the Saddhammappajjotikā, the commentary of the Mahā Niddesa, Siamese edition).

(I, 347)—Gumba Marukantāram catuvisati padāni raṭṭhanāmena vuttāni. Marukantāram gacchatīti vālikakantāram tārakasaññāya gacchati. jaṇṇupathan ti jānūhi gantabbamaggaṃ. ajapathan ti ajehi gantabbamaggaṃ. meṇḍhapathe pi eso nayo. saṅkupathan ti khāṇuke koṭṭetvā tehi okkamitabbam khāṇumaggaṃ tam tacchamāno

pabbatapāde thatvā ayasiṅghāṭakam yottena bandhitvā uddham
 khipitvā pabbate laggāpetvā yottenāruhya vajiraggena lohadaṇḍena
 pabbatam vijjhitva khāṇukam koṭṭetvā tattha thatvā siṅghāṭakam
 ākaṇḍhitvā puna upari laggāpetvā tattha thito cammayottam olam-
 betvā tam ādāya otaritvā heṭṭhimakhāṇuke sandhitvā vāmahatthena
 yottam gahetvā dakkhinahatthena muggaram ādāya yottam paharitvā
 khāṇukam niharitvā punar abhiruhati etenupāyena pabbatamat-
 thakam abhiruhya parato otaranti purimanayeneva paṭhamam
 pabbatamatthake khāṇukam koṭṭetvā cammapasibbake yottam
 bandhitvā khāṇuke veṭhetvā sayam antopasibbake nisīditvā makka-
 ṭakānam suttavisajjanākāreṇa yottam viniveṭhetvā otarati. teṇa
 vuttam khāṇuke koṭṭetvā tehi okkamitabbam maggan ti. Chatta-
 pathan ti cammachattena vātam gahetvā sakuṇehi viya otaritabbam
 maggam. Vamsapathan ti veṇugumbam chedanassatthena chinditvā
 rukke pharasunā koṭṭetvā maggam karonto veḷuvane nissenim katvā
 veḷugumbe āruhya veḷum chinditvā aparassa veḷugumbassa upari
 pāṭetvā veḷugumbamatthakeneva gantam maggam sandhāya
 vamsapatham gacchatīti vuttan ti veditabbam. gavesanto na vindati
 alābhamulakam pi dukkham.

“The twenty four words from Gumba to Marukantāra are names of countries. *Marukantāra* is the land of sand. *Jaṇṇupatha* is the road on which one has to go on knees. *Ajapatha* is the road on which one goes on goats. *Meṇḍhapatha* is also explained in the same way. *Soṇḍupatha* is the road which one descends with the help of stakes planted in the earth. In order to pass along this road an iron hook is attached to a cord and is thrown in the sky so that it may be planted in the mountain; then one goes up with the help of the cord; with a diamond pointed piece of iron a hole is made in the mountain and a stake is planted in it; then the cord is attached to a leather sac; it is carried in hand and attached to the stake lower down; the cord is held in the left hand and a hammer in the right; then the cord is struck so long as the stake does not come out; then one goes up again and in this way one goes up to the summit of the hill where a stake is planted; a cord is then attached to a leather sack and fixed to the stake; one then enters the sack and like a spider which lets out its thread one lets out the cord in order to go down; hence it is said to be a road where stakes are planted for getting down. *Chattapatha*—is the road where one gets down like birds with the help of a leather umbrella which holds the air. *Vamsapatha* i. e. one cuts a thicket of bamboos with the edge of a sword, plant them

in trees with the help of an axe; a path is thus made with the bamboo ladder; thus ascending a thicket of bamboos, he cuts a bamboo and lets it fall on another thicket of bamboos and thus he goes up over the thickets of bamboos: this is why this road is called the *vaṃsapatha*. But even if he searches for it he does not find it; he suffers for not getting it."

Upasena, the author of this commentary, wrote in the year 26 of the reign of Siri Sanghabodhi (Vijayabahu I) i. e. 1080 A. D. It may be seen from his description of *saṅkūpatha* that he knew either directly or indirectly accounts similar to those found in the *Bṛhatkathā Ślokaṣaṃgraha*. His explanation of *chattapatha* brings forth a trait both new and interesting for the history of flying; it is clearly an use of the parachute. His silence on the last words of the list: *Sakūṇapatha*, *muṣikāpatha*, *daripatha*, *vettadhara*, proves not less clearly that he did not know more than ourselves the meaning of these names.

The episode of the *Bṛhatkathā-Ślokaṣaṃgraha* analysed by me (*supra*) has since been published and fully translated by M. Lacote in the third fasciculi of his edition, XVIII, vi, 423 ff.

[Translation of the article of Sylvain Lèvi entitled *Ptolémée, Le Niddesa et La Bṛhatkathā*, from the *Études Asiatiques*, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the École Française d'Extrême Orient 1925, with the kind permission of the publisher Messrs. Van Oést, Les éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris.—P.C.B.]

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SINO-INDIAN STUDIES

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On the Original Buddhism, its canon and language*

My first duty is to thank you most sincerely for the honour you have shown me by calling upon me to preside over the deliberations of this section of the Oriental Conference. It is usual on such occasions to review the work done in the past. For me this task has been rendered very simple for two reasons. The last President of this section, Dr. P. V. Bapat has given an excellent and exhaustive review of the Buddhistic researches done since 1918. Besides, during the last three years the additions to our knowledge of Buddhism have been very few on account of the abnormal conditions still prevailing in the world. Of the recent publications the most noteworthy are some of the interesting etymological notes of Dr. Bapat¹ an authorised translation of Geiger's *Pāli Grammar* by Dr. B. K. Ghosh published by the Calcutta University, a sumptuous volume on *Early Monastic Buddhism* by Dr. N. Dutt, two volumes of the Gilgit Mss. in the Kashmir Sanskrit Series by Dr. N. Dutt, two volumes of the English translation of the *Sutta-Vibhaṅga* by Horner and a recent study on *Aśvaghoṣa* by Dr. B. C. Law. The three volumes of *Indo-Tibetica* by G. Tucci containing the results of his explorations of Buddhist antiquities in the Gyan-tse region, although published in 1941, have been recently released. They are like his previous volumes in the same series, monuments to his erudition in Tibetan antiquities and Buddhistic lore.

It might be of interest for you to know that the Viśva-Bhāratī with the help of the Ministry of Education of the National Government of China has recently inaugurated a scheme of Sino-Indian Cultural Studies by which the cause of Buddhistic researches is likely to be advanced. Under this scheme Dr. Bapat has completed his translation of the Arthavargīya-sūtras from Chinese and its comparison with Pāli Aṭṭhakavagga. He is at present engaged in making a comparative study of the Sāmantapāsādikā and its Chinese translation. These

* This is substantially the Presidential address delivered in the section of Pali and Buddhism at the Thirteenth All-India Oriental Conference, held at Nagpur.

¹ *Saptāṅga Supratisthita*—R. K. Mookerji Commemoration Volume; *Middha and Middhavādins* Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas *Nekkhamnu*, B. G. Law, Comm. Vol., II.

studies will throw considerable light on the original state of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* and the *Sāmantapāsādikā*. One of our colleagues, Mr. Pradhan has undertaken the work of translation of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of the *Dharmaguptaka* school from Chinese. He is also working upon a *Mahāyāna* work of Buddhist psychology, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of *Asaṅga* of which the original manuscript was discovered some years ago by *Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana* and is now preserved in the Bihar Research Society's collection. Pandit Ayyaswami Śāstri has rendered in Sanskrit a Buddhist work on Logic by *Bhāvaviveka*, the *Karatalaratna* from its Chinese translation. He is at present engaged in translating into Sanskrit an important work of *Sautrāntika* philosophy, the *Tattvasiddhi* of *Harivarman* from its Chinese translation. In this connection, I am glad to inform you that we have been able to secure the collaboration of the Bihar Research Society in working upon the valuable collection of Buddhist manuscripts of *Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana* and it is expected that some of the texts which are being edited will be accessible to you in course of a year or two.

I propose to-day to deal with some of the fundamental problems of the origin of Buddhism and Buddhist canonical literature. No systematic attention has been so long paid to them although much intensive work has been done on various aspects of Buddhism. This includes the problem of the relation of *Pāli* with Buddhism. You will excuse me for not concealing my sense of embarrassment in having to deal with both *Pāli* and Buddhism in the same section. There is no doubt that all that is *Pāli* is Buddhism but it should also be remembered that all that is Buddhism is not *Pāli*. This applies not merely to the later phases in the development of Buddhism but also to its earlier phases. It is therefore necessary to go into the origins of the Buddhist canon if we want to determine the true relation of *Pāli* to Buddhism.

On the language of the ancient Buddhist canon, a well-known Tibetan tradition says¹ that the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* had their works in Sanskrit, the *Mahāsāṅghika* in Prakrit, the *Mahāsammattiya* in *Apabhramśa*, and the *Sthavira* in *Paśāci*. The tradition is partially confirmed by the actual finds of the literature of various schools. We now definitely know that the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* had its books in Sanskrit. Certain portions of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of this school constitute the *Divyāvadāna*. Besides, a considerable portion of this *Vinaya-piṭaka* was discovered in *Gilgit* a few years ago and is already in course of

1 Vassiliot, *Le Bouddhisme* (French transl., 1865), pp. 271.

publication. The Sanskrit in which it is written is fairly pure and should be distinguished from the so-called "Mixed-Sanskrit". We also know that the Sarvāstivāda school used a correct Sanskrit for its literature. This is demonstrated by the fragments of its literature brought from Afghanistan and Central-Asia. This school possessed a full-fledged Tripiṭaka consisting of a Sūtrapiṭaka with four Āgamas.—Dirgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta and Ekottara, a Vinayapiṭaka and an Abhidharmapiṭaka. A complete translation of this literature may be found in Chinese but we get a fairly correct idea of their original from fragments of literature, discovered in course of Archaeological exploration in Central Asia. The complete *Prātimokṣa-Sūtra* was discovered in Kucha, the fragments of the Vinaya and of various texts of Sūtrapiṭaka in other parts of Central Asia and a fragment of one of the Abhidharma texts, the *Śaṅgītiparyāya* at Bamiyan in Afghanistan.

Nothing is definitely known about the language used by the Mahāsāṅghika school. The Vinayapiṭaka of this school has been preserved in a Chinese translation of the beginning of the 5th century but the translators Buddhahadra and Fa-hien say nothing of the original language of the text. The school used Prakrit according to the Tibetan tradition. The same tradition further says¹ that the two sects of this school, the Pūrvaśāila and the Aparāśāila, had the Prajñāpāramitā and other sūtras written in the Prakrit language. We know that another sect of the Mahāsāṅghika school, the Lokottaravāda had their Vinayapiṭaka which is the *Mahāvastu* written in what is called 'Mixed Sanskrit.' This 'Mixed Sanskrit,' as Prof. Jules Bloch has said, is not an incorrect Sanskrit but represents rather an ill regulated effort to give a literary form to a local language.² So its basis was also Prakrit. It is therefore quite likely that the Mahāsāṅghikas also used a Prakrit as the vehicle of their canon. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the Chinese translators systematically transcribe the name of the school and its Vinaya as Mo-ho-seng-k'i which according to the old pronunciation of Chinese may be correctly restored as *Mahā-saṅghiya*. This was not a Sanskrit name but Prakrit.

Two other schools, the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahīśāsaka, have their Vinayapiṭakas preserved in Chinese translation. Nothing is known of the original language used by these two schools. The two names are transcribed in Chinese as T'an-wu-to and Mi-sha-sai which in old

1 Vassilief, *ibid.*, p. 268.

2 *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 9.

pronunciation were *Dhammaūttak* and *Māśāsaka*. It is just probable that these two schools also used some Prakrits for their canon but it is impossible to know their affiliations. Vasumitra in his history of Buddhist schools tells us that they were branches of the Sarvāstivāda school. They might have been therefore popular in certain localities of North-Western India. Even in the time of Hiuan-tsang the use of the Vinayaṭakas of these two schools was current in Uḍḍiyāna or the Swat valley.¹

In this connection it is tempting to consider the language of the Dhammapada written in Kharoṣṭhī script of which fragments were discovered in Khotan. The school to which it belonged is not known but the text is old and goes back to the first century B.C. or near about. The language of this text has striking similarities with the Prakrit used in the Kharoṣṭhī documents brought from Eastern Turkestan. Its linguistic peculiarities show similarities with the Western Punjabi and the speeches of the hill tracts of the North-West.² It is in many respects dissimilar to the traditional Paiśācī Prakrit which is usually located in the Punjab. Contrary to the characteristics of Paiśācī, the language of this Dhammapada has : a surd following a nasal changing into a sonant (*alagido*, *paga*, *saga'i* etc.), a sonant following a nasal losing its articulation (*paga*, *athagi'o*, *saga*.) and a nasal group with a sonant cerebral being reduced to a nasal (*kuṇala*, *dana*.). It is not improbable that one of the two schools, the Mahīśāsaka or the Dharmaguptaka had adopted this Prakrit for their scripture and the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada belonged to it.

The Tibetan tradition says that the Sthavira school adopted the Paiśācī language as the vehicle of their canon. But was the Sthavira school the same as the Theravāda of Pāli? In that case Paiśācī would be the same as Pāli. This question has been exhaustively debated upon and it has been clearly demonstrated that Pāli is not Paiśācī. It must be however admitted that certain characteristics of Paiśācī are found sporadically in Pāli. The most important of them is the representation of a sonant by surd :

g>k	aguru>akalu
gh>kh	parigha>palikha
j>c	pājeti>pāceti

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* p. 226.

² J. Bloch, *Le Dialecte des fragments Dutreuil de Rhins*, J.As. 1912, I, pp. 331 ff.

d>t kusīda>kusīta
 dh>th upadheya>upatheyya
 v, b>p śāva>chāpa, pralāva>palāpa

But these are only isolated cases in Pali and do not present the rule. In many of these cases, there are regular Pāli forms by the side of the Pāisācī words. So they have been explained as dialectical variations by Geiger.

If Pali is not Pāisācī, then the Theravāda of Pali is not the same as the ancient Sthaviravāda, as believed so long. On the other hand there is no positive information to contradict the Tibetan tradition which says that the Sthaviravāda used the Pāisācī for their scriptures. There are various theories on the localisation of Pāisācī. Grierson identified it with the ancient speech of the North-West on the ground that some of the striking characteristics of Pāisācī are still found in the Dardic dialects. They are also found in the Shabazgarhi version of Aśokan edict. Lacôte, who made a special study of the problem, is in general agreement with Grierson's theory. He would find in it an Aryan dialect of the North-West as spoken by non-Aryan people. One of the principal varieties of Pāisācī was the Cūlika or Śūlikā Pāisācī. I tried to prove,¹ a few years ago, that this was a variety of Pāisācī as spoken by the Śūlikas or Sogdian immigrants in the Punjab.

There is an interesting information on the localisation of Pāisācī in the Chinese translation of a Buddhist text. The *Chu king yao tsi*, a compilation of the 7th century, consists of extensive quotations from older Chinese translations of Buddhist texts some of which are now lost. In chapter III, it quotes from a text called *Fo san mei king* - '*Buddhasamādhi-sūtra*.' The original translation is lost but in all probability it belonged to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The text says: "In Takṣaśilā there were 36 lakhs of houses and the people of the kingdom spoke the Pīśāca language." It therefore seems that Western Punjab was the region where we should place the ancient Pāisācī Prakrit.

The ancient Chinese catalogues of the translations of Buddhist texts tell us that one chapter of the Vinaya of the Sthaviravāda school was translated at Nanking between 483 and 486 A.D. by an Indian monk named Mahāyāna but the translation was later lost. The name of the

¹ *Śūlika, Cūlika and Cūlikā Pāisācī*, J. Dept. Letters, Calcutta University, XXX.

Vinaya text is given in Chinese as *T'a-pi-li liu* i.e. *T'a-pi-li* Vinaya. The name *T'a-pi-li* is explained in a Chinese note as *siu-to*-old, venerable,' i.e. *Sthavira*. But according to the strict rules of old pronunciation, the Chinese name can be restored either as *Thaviri* or *Thavili* but not as *Thera*. This is then not the Pali name but an older form of the word.

The *Sthaviravāda* as mentioned by Hiuan-tsang in the 7th century was not again the Pali *Theravāda* as we understand it now. The pilgrim was very careful in noticing the schools to which the Buddhists of a particular locality belonged. While speaking of the *Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma* which was built by a former king of Ceylon, the pilgrim tells us that it was inhabited by more than 1000 ecclesiastics who were all *Mahāyānist* of the *Sthavira* school. This monastery we know, was founded by king *Meghavarna* of Ceylon with the permission of *Samudragupta* for the use of Ceylonese monks. In *Samataṭa*, *Kaliṅga* and *Surāṣṭra*, he met with only one kind of followers of the *Sthavira* school namely the *Mahāyānist*s. In the *Drāviḍa* country, there were in his times, more than 10,000 monks who belonged to the same kind of *Sthavira* school. At *Kañcīpura* the pilgrim saw 300 *Bhikṣus* who had just come from Ceylon. From the conversation which took place between the pilgrim and the Ceylonese monks,¹ it appears that the *Yogaśāstras* then formed a part of the *Tripitaka* of the *Sthaviravāda* school as current in Ceylon in those days. Hiuan-tsang had not been to Ceylon and the information which he records on the condition of Buddhism in that country and which he must have gathered from the Ceylonese monks in India throws some light on the character of the Ceylonese *Theravāda* of those days. He says that two hundred years after *Mahinda* who first introduced Buddhism in Ceylon, two schools arose in that country: one was the *Mahāvihāra* which rejected the *Mahāyāna* and the other was the *Abhayagiri* which embraced both the vehicles. Therefore the *Sthaviravāda* which Hiuan-tsang found in different parts of India² was one of the *Abhayagiri* type and the *Sthaviravāda* canon which included the *Yogaśāstras* was the canon of the *Abhayagiri*. In the eyes of Hiuan-tsang that was the only legitimate Buddhist canon in Ceylon.

We know that the contest for power that went on for several centuries in Ceylon between the *Mahāvihāra* and the *Abhayagiri* ended

¹ Watters, *ibid.*, II, p. 136, 187, 198 etc.

² Watters, *ibid.*, II, pp. 226, 234.

in disaster to the latter. Since the time of Mahāsenā (4th cent. A.D.) a policy of persecution began to be pursued by the rulers against the Abhayagiri and ultimately they were destroyed and their literature suppressed. They were stigmatised as heretics, *Vetulyaka*, *Middhavādin* and so forth. But their literature could not be suppressed entirely and a good deal of it must have been preserved by their opponents after necessary tampering and elimination of materials which smacked of Mahāyāna. This is demonstrated to some extent by the *Vimuttimaggā* which was preserved in Chinese translation and has now been studied and compared with the *Visuddhimaggā* by Dr. Bapat. The *Vimuttimaggā* belonged to the canon of the Abhayagiri and *Visuddhimaggā* was a Mahāvihāra version of the text. It is likely that the same conclusion will be reached when a few other texts in Chinese which are supposed to have been translated from Pali are properly studied.

It may be noted in this connection that the Sthaviravāda of the Abhayagiri type represented the natural course of development of the early schools by not dissociating the Mahāyānist tendencies which must have been growing within the fold of every school since earlier times. The Mahāsāṅghikas, we know, had avowed Mahāyāna leanings. Among its sects, the Pūrvaśāila and Aparāśāila, we have seen, had their Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras and the Lokottaravāda emphasised on the doctrine of Pāramitā as propounded by Mahāyānists. The Mahāsāṅghika was however one of the oldest schools and originated simultaneously with ancient Sthaviravāda. The Dharmaguptaka also was of two types—Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna and some of the old Buddhist sources speak of the Dharmaguptaka literature of both the types. This makes it probable that the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon was a reactionary school and represented a reformist movement against the older and more authentic tradition and cannot be thus looked upon as the custodians of the primitive and orthodox traditions of Buddhism. It is therefore clear that in early times there was more than one school with name of Sthaviravāda and it is not improbable that one of them had its literature in Pāṣāṇa adaptation. Besides, we have at present whether in original or in Chinese or Tibetan translations, the canonical literatures of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda, Sarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika, and Mahīśāsaka, all of which claim to have preserved the ancient tradition exactly in the same way as Pali does. Under these circumstances, we have to look elsewhere for the oldest traditions of Buddhism.

Original language of the Buddhist Canon

What was then the original language of the canon? In order to determine this a passage of the Cullavagga has been much quoted in support of varying theories. Two Bhikṣus once complained to Buddha that the brethren in the community being of diverse origin were changing the utterances of the Buddha by the use of their own dialects (*saṅgāya niruttīyā*). They then suggested the use of *chandaso* for the sake of uniformity. Buddha however did not approve of it and ordered *anujānāmi bhikkhūve saṅgāya niruttīyā buddhavacanaṃ*. Buddhaghosa takes it to be a reference to Buddha's own speech i.e. the language of Magadha or Māgadhi (*atha saṅgā nirutti nāma sammā-sambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhiḥ vohāra*). Gieger defends this interpretation but Keith while supporting an earlier view says: "It is incredible that immediately after the use of the term *saṅgāya niruttīyā* in the representation of the Bhikkus as applying to the use of their own dialects, the Buddha should have employed this phrase to express a totally different meaning."¹

Oldenberg and Rhys Davids had translated the passage thus—"I allow you, Oh, brethren, to learn the words of the Buddha each in his own language." The corresponding account as well as the instruction of Buddha also occur in Vinayapiṭakas of other schools.² Thus the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya (ch. 52) has: "I allow you in each kingdom to use the common speech understood there for reciting and repeating the sacred texts of Buddha." The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya has: "From today if one recites the sacred texts with the intonation of the heretics it will be a sin (*duṣkṛta*)."³ The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda tells the story in a little different way. The two monks were formerly used to the musical intonations of the Vedas and thought of introducing them in the recitation of the Buddhist texts. When this was reported to Buddha, the latter said: "The monks who recite the sacred texts in prolonged intonation and rhythm use musical intonations and this is a sin. Since now the monks must no more sing with prolonged intonations while reciting the sacred texts. If a monk use intonations of *chan-t'o* (*chandaso*) in reciting passages of the sacred texts they commit a sin and violate the law. If the pronunciation current

¹ I.H.Q., I, pp. 501 ff.

² Lévi, *Sur la Récitation Primitive des textes Bouddhiques*, J.As. 1915, I, pp. 401. ff.

in the country prolong the intonations then there is no fault." The Mahīśāsaka-vinaya tells us that the two monks who were formerly acquainted with the method of reciting *chandas-veda* began to find fault with the recitation of Buddhist texts. They said: "The Bhadantas do not know masculine or feminine, singular or plural, present, past or future, long or short syllables and thus they recite the sacred texts of Buddha." They proposed to introduce the Vedic accents in the recitation of Buddhist texts but Buddha disapproved of it and ordered—"I allow that it may be recited as one speaks in each kingdom. Only I do not allow you to forget to think of Buddha. I do not allow you to make use of the words of Buddha as expressions of heretical books."

It is therefore clear that all the Vinayas with the exception of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya is in general agreement with the interpretation of Buddhaghōṣa. It was not a question of using one's own dialect for reciting the Buddhavacana but using one's natural intonation for the recitation. The Cullavagga like the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya misunderstood the old tradition and Buddhaghōṣa was evidently using the old tradition in his explanation in spite of the construction of the passage. It is also incomprehensible how Buddha could allow the Buddhavacana composed in a particular dialect to be recited in another dialect. It was therefore a question of the mode of recitation. It was to be recited in the intonation of one's own language in preference to the *chandas* or *chandaveda*. Yi-tsing in a note to his translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya explains *chandas* as the Brahmanical method of chanting in which intonations were prolonged and the measure maintained by beating the air.

There is therefore no room for doubt that the original language of the Buddhavacana was Māgadhī. Does Pali represent this Māgadhī? Ceylonese tradition would have us believe that Pali is really the old Māgadhīnirutti. But Pali cannot be regarded as Māgadhī for very important reasons. The main characteristics of Māgadhī are: (1) mutation of every *r* into *l* and every *s* into *ś*. (2) the ending *-e* in N. Sing. masculine and neuter of *a* stems and of consonantal stems inflected like them. Pali however retains the *r* (its change into *l* is indeed frequent but not the rule), possesses no *ś* at all but only *s* and the nominal forms mentioned above end in it with *-o* or *am*. Pali is basically a Western Prakrit and its peculiarities agree to some extent with the Gīṇar version of Aśokan edicts but representing a later stage. There are influences of other dialects on it specially of Māgadhī and Paīśācī. The

influence of Māgadhi is specially found in the (1) use of *e* for Pali *o* : *pure*, *suve*, *bhikkhave*, (2) use of *e* for nominative singular : *purisakāre*, (3) use of *l* in certain cases for *r* and (4) *se* for Pali *tam* : *seyyathā* for *tadyathā*, (5) mutation of surds into sonants in intervocalic positions *eḷamuga*, *sāgala*, *udāhu*, *pavedhati*, *avanga*, etc. (6) cases of the elision of an intervocalic mute which is replaced by the hiatus-filler *y* or *v* : *suva* (beside *suka*) for *śuka*, *khāyita* for *khādita* etc. Geiger tries to explain these Māgadhi characteristics as dialectal influences. But how were these influences exerted? We believe that they first came through the translation of the Buddhist texts from their Māgadhi originals.

Apart from these linguistic survivals of the old Māgadhi, there are other remnants of it in the Pali as well as Sanskrit canons.

Lévi¹ discussed a number of Buddhist technical terms current both in Pali and Sanskrit texts of which the etymology was uncertain and explained them as Māgadhi forms coming down from the old Māgadhi canon. These words are *saṅghādisesa*, *Pārājika*, *Pācittiya*, *Eḷodi*, *Upasatha*. The Pali commentators explained *saṅghādisesa* as *saṅgha* + *ādi* (beginning) + *sesa* (remainder) and thus as a sin which demanded at first a meeting of the Saṅgha to pass a judgment of expulsion and then in regard to others a new meeting for pronouncing the rehabilitation. In some of the Sanskrit sources the word occurs as *saṅghāvasesa*. The sin involved a temporary exclusion of the remaining members of the Saṅgha after complete exclusion of the Pārājikas. Hence the word may be derived from an old Sanskrit form *Saṅghā-tiśeṣa*. *Saṅghādisesa* would thus be an old Māgadhi form and *Saṅghāvasesa* a later Sanskrit rendering of the original *Saṅghātiśeṣa*. *Pārājika* is explained by the Pali commentators as “*pārājiko hoti parājito parajayam āpanno*.” In Chinese, the word is translated as *wu-yu* ‘without remainder,’ meaning ‘complete expulsion.’ The word therefore may be derived from an old Sanskrit *parāñciṇa* which meant ‘to turn out’ through Prakrit **pārāciṇa*. In the Jain texts too the word *parāñciya* occurs but not in the same sense. In the sense of complete expulsion the word would form a pair with *saṅghādisesa* which involved temporary expulsion. Lévi has similarly shown that *pācittiya* cannot be derived from *prāyaścittiṇa* but from *prāk-cittiṇa* which meant commission of act with precipitation. The Sanskrit *pāyantika* and an old Prakrit form *pāyiti* (recorded in Chinese as *Po-ye-ti*) may also be derived from the same source. Lévi similarly derives *eḷodi*

1 *Sur une langue Précanonique du Bouddhisme*, I.As. 1912, II, pp. 495 ff.

(B. Sk. *ekoti*) from *eḥa-uti* 'consisting of a single chain' hence meaning "spiritually united," *Upasatha* (B. Sk. *poṣadha* Jain *Posaha*) from *upavasatha*. In the case of *poṣadha* the initial vowel is lost and the intervocalic surd becomes a sonant. All these present characteristics of old Māgadhī and must have been derived in Pali and Sanskrit from the old Māgadhī canon. These characteristics are not found only in the technical words but also in a number of other words in Pali such as *jalogi* < *jalauka*, *Magandiya*, B. Sk. *Mākandika* < **Mākrandika* (Jain *Nāgarandīya*, *Māyamdi*, *Maimdi*), *Kosiya* < *Kosi'a* < *Kauśika*, *Isipātana* B. Sk. *R̥ṣivadana* < *R̥ṣipattana* etc.

Buddhist texts began to be translated into Chinese since the middle of the second century A.D. and during the first two centuries of translation we do not come across with the translation of any complete collection like the *Vinaya-piṭaka* or the *Sūtra-piṭaka*. We get only translations of individual texts which do not fully agree with the corresponding Pali or Sanskrit texts. The texts as well as the transcribed proper names occurring in them point out to an older source which might have been either the old Māgadhī or some adaptation which did not do much violence to the old Māgadhī character. With the recent progress in the study of Chinese phonology it is now possible to get at the original forms of the proper names transcribed in those texts:

- Lo-yue-k'i - * *la-i^wat-gjie* = *Rāyagi(h)a*
 She-wei - * *ś'a-'wāi* = *Śāvai* (cf. *sāvhayā* in *Pārāyaṇa*)
 Kia-wei-lo-wei - *Kavilavai* < *Kapilavastu*
 Lo-yun - * *la-giu^ən* = *lāghula* < *Rāhula*
 Kiu-yi - * *gui-'i* = *Go'i* < *Gopī*
 Po-sse-ni - * *pua-sie-ni^ək* = *Paseni* < *Prasenajit*
 T'eu-ta - * *d'ieu-d'at* = *Deodāt* < *Devadatta*
 Sho-li-yue - * *ś'a-li-'w'ād* = *Śārivud* < *Śāriputra*
 Sha-liu - * *śa-lw'δ* = *Śāriud* < *Śāriputra*
 Fen-wei - *pwin-wāi* = *piṇḍavai* < *piṇḍapātika*
 T'an-yue - *dan-'w'ād* = *dānavadi* < *dānapati*

The transcription of such words in the Chinese translation of the original *Milindaprasna*¹ shows the same difference with the Pali:

- Mi-lan - * *Milanda*, Pali *Milinda*
 Na-sien - * *Nāasena*, P. *Nāgasena*

¹ Pelliot, *Les noms propres dans les traductions Chinoises du Milindapañha* — J.As. II, pp. 379 ff.

Lou-an = * L'w-xan = Loghana, P. Rohaṇa
 Ngo-po-yue - Aḍ-p^wa-wⁱād = Aspagutta P. Assagutta
 Sho-kie-Ś'a-giad = Śāgala P. Sāgala Sk. Śākala
 Yi-ch'e-kia - * Yeḍika <Skt, Yaṣṭika, P. laṭṭhi
 A-li-san - Alesanda, P. Alasanda

Last of all, I should like to draw your attention to the name Sigāla occurring in the name of the famous text Sigālovāda-sutta. There are four translations of the text in Chinese, the oldest of them belonging to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. The Sūtra is called there the 'Sūtra of *She-ḱia-lo-yue*.' The other translations are called Sujāta-putra-sūtra. Sujāta-putra was the name of *She-ḱia-lo-yue*. The name can be restored as *Śigālavad* which was wrongly interpreted in Pali as Sigālovāda. The name of the householder was originally not simply Sigāla but Śigālavad <Skt. Śṛṅgāravant on account of the fact that every morning he used to pay special attention to his dress and hair before starting the worship of the directions.

These make it quite clear as both Lévi and Lüders¹ maintained that Sanskrit and Pali were both inheritors of an older literary tradition recorded in a dialect which is now lost but which had attained an advanced state of phonetic decay. There is an agreement in this respect between Buddhism and Jainism. Both of them, born in the same region had used one of the Magadhan dialects for their holy texts. But the Jainas in course of time while standardising their Ardha-Māgadhī weakened the intervocalic consonant to an almost inarticulate phoneme, the *ya-śrūti*. Buddhism acted in a different way. Under Western influence it got reconciled to Sanskrit standard. But that must have occurred not only after Aśoka but also after the age of Bharhut. In Aśokan edict we get *Lāghulo* for Pali *Rahula* with old Māgadhī *l* and an archaic *gh* for *h*, *adhigicya* for Pali *adhiḱicca* with a sonant in place of surd and in Bharhut *avāyesi* (with *ya-śrūti*) for Pali *avādesi*, Skt. *avādayet*.

Under these circumstances it is quite comprehensible that the pre-Aśokan canon whatever its extent might have been was in Māgadhī. It was in all appearance the canon of the Eastern Church (Pācīnaka) who were represented by the Mahāsāṅghika. The Western Church (the Pātheyyakas) had carried the older literary traditions to the West,

¹ Lévi—*Langue Précanonique*—*J.As.* 1912, II, pp. 493 ff. Lüders—*Bruchstücke der buddhistischen Dramen*—*Kēith, I.H.Q.*, I, pp. 501 ff.

which were first adapted in the region of the Punjab in *Paiśācī* and later on in the post-Aśokan period in the region of Ujjayinī in an Western dialect which was the basis of Pali. The Pali canon in the period of its inception thus could draw upon the *Māgadhi* canon as well as on its *Paiśācī* adaptation. The origion of the canons in Sanskrit and 'Mixed Sanskrit' must have also belonged to the same period. It is possible that Sthavira tradition represented by the *Pātheyyakas* had passed through different stages, Sthavira I in the literature of the *Pātheyyakas* in *Māgadhi*, Sthavira II in *Paiśācī*, Sthavira III in the dialect of Ujjayinī which was much the same with an increased amount of Sanskritisation as Sthavira IV or Abhayagiri and Sthavira V in the Pali tradition of the *Mahāvihāra*.

The Original Canon

A consideration of the original state of the canon also points out to the same direction. It is true that the account of the council of *Rājagṛha* as preserved in the *Cullavagga* tells us that the first two *Piṭakas*, namely the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta* with all its five *Nikāyas* were brought together immediately after the death of Buddha. The Pali account further tells us that the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* assumed its final form in the time of Aśoka in the council of *Pāṭaliputra*. But this account cannot be naively accepted. Minayeff pointed out long ago that the *Cullavagga* account has two parts, one dealing with the accusation of Ānanda and other with the rehearsal of the two *Piṭakas*. The former, according to him, represents an old tradition but the second is a later addition and belongs to a time when the various schools as well as *Mahāyāna* had come into existence. This observation has been amply confirmed by Przyluski from a detailed study of all accounts of the Council of *Rājagṛha* preserved in the literature of various schools. All these accounts, according to Przyluski, tend to show that the meeting at *Rājagṛha* immediately after the death of the Master was not a council but an ordinary meeting during the usual *varṣāvāsa*. It went into the allegations made against Ānanda but had nothing to do with the compilation of the Canon.

The account concerning the alleged rehearsal of the canon was composed by each school according to its own convenience. According to the *Cullavagga* account it was the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta* which were compiled in the first council. The *Vinaya* consisted of the *Pāṭi-mokkha*, *Mahāvagga*, *Cullavagga* and *Parivāra*. The *Suttapiṭaka* con-

sisted of the five Nikāyas, the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara and the Khuddaka. But the separate works of the Nikāyas are not mentioned excepting the first two suttas of the Dīghanikāya viz. the Bahmajāla and the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas say that the Canon collected in this Council consisted of the Vinaya-piṭaka and Sūtra-piṭaka. The latter consisted of the five Āgamas—Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta, Ekottara and Kṣudraka. The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas mentions as the texts collected in the first Council—the Vinaya-piṭaka, the Sūtrapiṭaka consisting of the five Āgamas and the Abhidharmapiṭaka consisting of five texts. It also gives the names of the texts included in the Kṣudrakāgama-Jātaka, Itivṛttaka, Nidāna, Vaipulya, Adbhutadharma, Avadāna, Upadeśa, Arthapada, Dharmapada, Pārāyaṇa, Kathāvastu and Sthaviragāthā. The Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya mentions the Vinayapiṭaka consisting of the Pārājika, Saṅghavaśeṣa, Aniyata-dharmas, Naissargika, 82 Pācittiya and 4 Pratideśaniya. The Sūtrapiṭaka, according to it, consisted of the five Āgamas.

The Mahāsāṅghika account in this connection gives a list of patriarchs from the time of Upālī up to the time when the account was evidently redacted. It consists of 28 generations. The account was evidently redacted 28 generations after Upālī i.e. at least, 500 years after the Nirvāṇa. The Dharmaguptaka account by including the Mahāyāna texts like the Vaipulya and the Adbhutadharma could not have been redacted before the Mahāyāna came into existence. The Sthaviravāda canon as represented by the Abhayagiri must have also included the Mahāyāna sūtras in its Kṣudraka collection specially the Vaipulya-sūtras as we know they were stigmatised as followers of the Vaitulya or Vaipulya doctrines. Besides, no other school excepting the Pālī mentions the divisions of the Sūtrapiṭaka as Nikāya. Even in the beginning of the fourth century Fa-hien got in Ceylon not the manuscripts of Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas but of the Dīrgha and Madhyama Āgamas.

In the face of these important divergence in the accounts of the redaction of Canon in the first council it is impossible to admit that the Canon was really collected at the time. This portion of the account as Minayeff suggested is of later origin. It may be as late as 500 years after the Nirvāṇa as the Mahāsāṅghika account incidentally tells us. The ancient tradition concerned most probably the first rainy season meeting of the elders after the Nirvāṇa, a review of the fundamental Vinaya rules and the consequent proceedings against Ānanda who was accused of violating the rules. Later writers built upon it an elaborate

account of the rehearsal and collection of the holy writ in order to establish the prestige of their respective schools.

The compilation of the Canon must have been done in a different manner. It could not have been constituted from the beginning as full-fledged Piṭakas but as collections of the sayings of Buddha himself or of famous elders. This is clearly demonstrated by traditions of a different kind which had no reason to be affected by the sectarian claims to prestige. Let us now consider these traditions :

In the Mahāvagga (V, 13) we are told that while Mahā Kātyāyana was in Avanti he sent his newly ordained disciple, Soṇa Kuṭīkaṇṇa, to Buddha who was then in Sāvattthi. When Soṇa reached Sāvattthi, he was lodged in the same room as the Buddha. Towards the dawn Buddha asked Soṇa to recite the holy texts. Kuṭīkaṇṇa recited the *Aṭṭhavaggikaṣ* with intonation. Buddha appreciated it and said : You have well learnt the *Aṭṭhavaggikaṣ*. You have well worked on it. You well remember it. You have good voice, well articulated with nothing indistinct or swallowed and helps to understand the meaning well.

The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya reporting on the same tradition mentions Śroṇa Koṭīkaṇṇa as a native of Aśmāparāntaka. On being sent to Śrāvastī by Mahā Kātyāyana he recited before Buddha with the pitch of the country of Aparāntaka and with long intonation—*Udāna*, *Pārāyaṇa*, *Satyadṛṣṭi*, *Sailagāthā*, *Munigāthā*, and *Arthavargika-sūtra*. Buddha appreciated his mode of recitation.

The Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya tells us that Koṭīkaṇṇa was a native of Aśmakāvanti. On coming to Śrāvastī he recited before the Lord the *Pārāyaṇa* and the *Satyadṛṣṭi*. Buddha approved of his mode of recitation and said—You pronounce the law well. You can recite with the intonation of the Avanti country. Your elocution is perfectly clear, precise and easy to understand.

The Mahiśāsaka Vinaya makes Koṭīkaṇṇa a native of Aspakāvanti. On coming to Śrāvastī he recited to the Lord the 16 *Arthavargikaṣ*.

The Dharmaguptaka Vinaya places the scene at Rājagṛha. Koṭīkaṇṇa came from Avanti to Rājagṛha and recited the 16 *Arthapadaṣ* neither adding nor omitting anything, without violating the law of holy texts, with a pure and clear intonation; sections and phrases were in order, clear, precise and easy to understand.

The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya gives a completely different version of the story. There is no mention of either Mahā Kātyāyana of Avanti. Pūrṇa, a pious merchant goes to Śroṇāparānta. Koṭīkaṇṇa is converted there by Pūrṇa. He comes to Śrāvastī and recites before the Lord the

Eight Sections (Aṣṭavarga). Buddha appreciates his recitation and says —The words, syllables, phrases and the meaning are as I had pronounced formerly.

In regard to the recitation of texts, the Pali simply says *svarena abhāsi* but the Mūla Sarvāstivāda says *svareṇa svādhyāyaṇṇaṁ karoṇi*. We have seen in connection with our discussion of *Saṅkha niruttī* that at the time when the recitation of the Buddhist texts was current the method of Vedic recitation was still in use. It was therefore proposed by some monks that the *chandas* might be adopted for the recitation of the Buddhist texts but Buddha did not approve of it. He declared the use of musical intonation of the *chandas* as a sin.

The tradition concerning the recitation of the use of *chandas* goes back to the common past of the various schools. In spite of minor difference the tradition has remained unchanged. In Pāṇini the accentuation is an integral part of the grammatical science and is as important as phonology and morphology. The definition of a grammatical form necessarily implies the mention of the accent. Accent was therefore a reality in the time of Pāṇini in the 4th century B.C. but with Kātyāyana (3rd century B.C.) and Patañjali (2nd cent. B.C.) it was a dead letter. The Buddhist tradition on the method of recitation of holy texts and the prohibition of the Vedic accents therefore goes back to the period of Pāṇini when accent was still in use. The first literary attempts of the Buddhists therefore belongs to that period.

The texts recited by Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa may be regarded as the oldest compositions of the Buddhist church. All the accounts agree in mentioning the *Arthavargīya-sūtras*. This is the name under which most of the Vinayas mention the text. The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya mentions it as *Aṣṭa-vagga*, and Pali as *Aṭṭhakavagga*. It is difficult to say which was the correct form of the name. Both *Artha* and *Aṣṭa* are reducible to Prakrit *Aṭṭha* and in view of the fact that mention of *Artha-* is found in the majority of cases it may be said that *Aṭṭha* as *Aṣṭa* had come into existence through a wrong interpretation. Among the other texts recited by Koṭikarṇa the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya mentions *Pārāyaṇa* and *Satyadṛṣṭi*, and the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-*Udāna*, *Pārāyaṇa*, *Satyadṛṣṭi*, *Sailagāthā*, *Munigāthā*, *Sthaviragāthā* and *Sthavirigāthā*.

The antiquity of this tradition is also proved by the mention of certain texts in Aśoka edicts. In the Bhabru edict Aśoka specially recommends to the Saṅgha a number of religious texts with the following instruction: "I desire that many groups of monks and nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the Dharma (*dhamma-paliyāni*)

and reflect on them. In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).” The seven *dhamma-pāliyaṇi* recommended by Aśoka were the following : 1. Vinaya-samukase, 2. Aliyavāsāni, 3. Anāgatabhayāni, 4. Munigāthā, 5. Moneyasūte, 6. Upatisapasine, 7. Lāghulovāde.

It is generally assumed that these Sūtras were selections from the extensive Buddhist canon which according to tradition had been constituted already before the time of Aśoka. Under this assumption all the texts except the first have been identified. Accordingly Aliyavasāni has been identified with Aṅguttara II, 27, Anāgatabhayāni with Aṅguttara III, 103, Munigāthā with Munisutta of the Suttanipāta, Moneyasūte with Nālakasutta of the same collection. Upatisapasine with Rathavinitasutta of the Majjhima I, 146-51, and Lāghulovāde with Rāhulavāda-sutta of the Majjhima I, 414. But these identifications are far from certain as there is no clue in the edict as to their contents, excepting in the case of Lāghulovāde. It is said that this text concerned falsehood (*musāvādam adhigīcyā*). In fact the Rāhulavāda-sutta of the Majjhima and the Sanskrit Madhyamāgama contains a warning to Rāhula against falsehood. But in which form was the text known to Aśoka? It was certainly not known in its extant amplified versions. It is probable that the Aśokan text consisted of the gāthās which contain the essentials of the text. The pre-Aśokan texts referred to in the traditions already discussed consisted of gāthās and included also the Munigāthā which is recommended by Aśoka.

Aśoka does not mention the Tripiṭaka. In fact the word does not occur in inscriptions before the first century A.D. In the 2nd century B.C. one of the inscriptions of Bharut, mentions *pañcanikāyika*, ‘one who knows the five nikāyas.’ But it is doubtful if it has anything to do with the five nikāyas of the Suttapiṭaka. We have already seen that all other schools speak of the Āgamas whereas the Pālī alone has Nikāya. Nikāya also meant a school and it is not improbable that a *pañcaneṭṭhikā* was one who was acquainted with the doctrines of five different schools (Mahāsāṅghika, Sthaviravāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Sarvāstivāda).

The original Māgadhī canon of pre-Aśokan as well as Aśokan times was not therefore a full fledged Tripiṭaka. The literature was just in the making and in all probability consisted of gāthās which could be memorised and recited with certain prescribed intonation. Stories of the life of the master handed down through tradition or improvised, were gradually accumulating around these gāthās and out of them well

constituted Sūtras began to take shape in post-Aśokan times. For the pre-Aśokan canon we have to look to gāthās like those of the Aṭṭhaka-vagga, Pārāyaṇa, Theragāthā etc.

Original Buddhism

As Aśoka's recommendation of the *dhmma-paliyāni* is a landmark in the history of the ancient canon so also is his exposition of the law in the history and development of the Buddhist doctrines. It will be wrong to suppose that Aśoka was interested only in the popular aspect of the law so far as it concerned the laity. He was equally interested in its monastic aspect. It is not improbable that he had passed several years in the monastery and lived like a monk. He always addresses not only the *upāsaka* but also the monks and the nuns (*bhikkhupaye ca bhikkhuniye*-Bhabra, *bhikkhu vā bhikkhuniṃvā bhikkhusamahasi ca bhikkhuni-saṃghasi ca*-Sarnath. He recommends the holy texts to the monks and the nuns. This makes it certain that he was interested in Buddhism as a whole, whether monastic or popular and thought himself in a position to direct not only his subjects who were common followers of the law but also the monks and the nuns in matters of doctrine as well as monastic organisation. His exposition of the law therefore represents to some extent the Buddhist norm of those days.

Aśoka first of all decries the ordinary human vices such as violence (*caṃḍiye*), cruelty (*niṭhūliye*), anger (*krōdhe*), conceit (*māne*) and envy (*īsyā*) and endorses such virtues as *sādhave*- good, *apāsina*- freedom from depravity, *dayā*- kindness, *sace*- truthfulness *dānc*- liberality, *socaye*-purity, and *mādave*- gentleness. He also recommends- non-slaughter of life (*anārambho prāṇānam*) non-injury to living beings (*avihiṣā bhūānam*), attention to father and mother (*mātari pītari śuśrūṣā*), reverence to teachers (*gurūnam apacitī*), liberality and good behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmins and Śramaṇas (*mitāsaramstuta-nātinam bāhmaṇa-samaṇa-bāhmaṇa-samaṇānam dānam saṃpaṭipatī*) and good behaviour to slaves and servants (*dāsa-bhatakaṃhi samyapratipatī*). He himself performed humanitarian deeds such as planting trees for offering shade to man and beast, planting mango orchards, causing wells to be dug, building rest-houses, importing and planting medicinal herbs. So far he was speaking of the popular aspect of the law.

But Aśoka placed even greater emphasis on the higher aspect of the law. While speaking of the many works for the good of humanity

he says: *lahuḷe chu paṭibhoge nāma*- "but this so-called enjoyment is of little consequence." The most important point in the practice of the law was according to him to give up want of perseverance *āsulope*, cruelty *-nīhuliye*, hastiness *-tūlanaye*, want of application *-anāvūtiya*, laziness *-ālasīye* and weariness- (*ḷilamathc*). By doing so, Aśoka says, one attains endless heavenly bliss (*vipule svage*). He then tells us how he realised it in his own life through exertion (*paḷama*). Through much exertion (*bāḍham paḷamite*) he made the gods mix with men in Jambudvīpa -gods who were formerly unmixed with men (*amisā samānā munisā Jāmbudīpasi amisā devā husu te dāni munisā*). This, Aśoka says, was the result of his exertion (*paḷamasa hi iyam phale*). Elsewhere he says that through exertion it is possible not only for the great (*mahātpa*) but also for the small (*ḷhudaka*) to make others attain endless happiness of heaven (*no hīyam saḷye mahāpeneva pāpotave. ḷāmam tu ḷho ḷhudakeṇa pi paḷamimiṇeṇa vipule svage saḷye ārā-dhetave*): "This is possible not only for the superior to achieve but indeed it is also possible for even the inferior to cause to attain (people) much heavenly bliss through exertion." He also tells us that whatever exertions he made (*parāḷamate*) were with reference to the other world (*pāratrīkāya*). He wanted to make others free from *paṭṣava* i.e. *apumṇa* or demerit. This he admits is a task difficult to be accomplished whether by the great or the small except by the utmost exertion and by complete renunciation (*duḷaram tu ḷho etam chudakeṇa va janena usaṇena va añātra aḷena parāḷamena savam parichajītpā*).

It may be noticed that the virtues necessary for spiritual progress which Aśoka mentions such as *dāna*, *socave*, *madave*, *paḷame* are the same as the first four of the six *pāramitās* viz. *dāna*, *śīla*, *ḷṣānti*, *vīrya* mentioned in the canon, whether Sanskrit or Pali. But Aśoka does not make any reference to the *Pāramitā* doctrine which evidently had not been formulated in his time. He lays the greatest emphasis on the practice of *paḷame* or *vīriya*. While speaking of the degrees of spiritual progress, Aśoka distinguishes *ḷhudaka* or the small men from the *mahātpa* or *usaṭa* i.e. great or more elevated. According to Aśoka it was one of the natural qualities of the great to attain the heavenly bliss not only for himself but also for others by his exertion (*paḷame* or *vīriya*). Aśoka who was evidently placing himself in the position of *mahātpa* or *usaṭa* when he says that he had succeeded through his exertion in causing gods formerly unmixed with men to mix with men. This reminds us of the *uttarīmanussa* or *uttaramanuṣya*, men endowed

Āśoka's exposition of the law has the closest relation to what the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya says in regard to the law of ordinary men (*manuṣya-dharma*) and the law of higher men (*uttaramanuṣya*). While dealing with the fourth Pārājika, the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya first introduces a story in order to illustrate the effect of exertion (*vīrya*). It says that a poor Brahmin once made up his mind to remove his poverty by his exertion (*vīrya*). So he sailed to foreign lands with merchants to earn a fortune. He accumulated a certain wealth there and returned to his country. But while getting down from the ship all his earning fell into the sea. But he was not disheartened by it. He collected some pieces of wood, set up a sort of machine for churning the sea and began throwing out the water of the sea at a place near the shore. He went on with this work of madness day and night without any stop. The sea-god was at last pleased with him for his untiring exertion, took out from the sea the fortune he had lost and returned it to him. Such was the effect of exertion (*vīrya*).

“The law of men consists of five desires, five lower bonds (avarabhāgiya), six existences (*saḍ-gaṭi*) six roots of quarrel (*vivāda-mūla*), seven *anuśaya*, eight false existences, eight dharmas, nine *māna* or conceit, nine kinds of suffering (*pradāśa*), ten good acts and ten bad acts.”

“In the path of wilderness to make good wells
To plant trees and gardens for giving fruits in charity
To plant trees and forests to give cool shade.
To make bridges and boats for men’s crossing
To make charity and practice pure rules of conduct
To give up jealousy and greediness through the practice of
knowledge and wisdom
These make the merits increase day and night
And always leads to birth among heavenly beings.

This is the law of man. And again filial piety to father and mother, attention to Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa, showing great respect to those who practise Brahmacharya, these also are man's law."

The reference to the Devaputra which from a certain period became a common designation of kings in the Buddhist texts and the close correspondence of the list of meritorious acts performed and recommended by Aśoka irresistably lead to the conclusion that the compiler of the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya had a direct knowledge of the pious acts of Aśoka. Aśoka recommended the practice of these acts to all but his attention was fixed on a still higher ideal which he had himself realised by his exertion. The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya also describes these as *manuṣya-dharma* but speaks of the higher law (*uttara-manuṣya-dharma*) which was attainable by exertion. The *uttara-manuṣya-dharma* according to this Vinaya is as follows :

It consists of ten kinds of knowledge—the knowledge of law, the knowledge of the unknown, that of the past (?), that of other's minds, that of *duḥkha*, *samudaya* and *nirodha*, that of *kṣaya* and that of non-production.

It consists of *nirodha* and *kṣaya*, *vimokṣa*, *adhika-kuśala-citta*, *vipāka-kuśala-mūla*, pure and impure *vimokṣa*, *vidyā*, *dharma*, *srotāpanna-phala* and its *samādhi*. Entering it well, coming out of it well, staying in it well and enjoying it well, constitute realisation. These are *śamatha-vipaśyanā*, three *samādhi*, three *vidyā*, four *smṛtyupasthāna*, four *samyakā-vīrya*, four *īddhipada*, four *dhyāna*, four *aprameya-citta*, four *ārūpya-samādhi*, four *ārya-mārga*, four *āryagotrabhu*, four *ārya-satyā* and four *śrāmaṇya-phala*.

It also consists of five *aṅga-samādhi*, five *indriya*, five *bala*, five *vimokṣa*, six *anuttara-dharma*, six *ārya-dharma*, six *vitarka*, six *smṛti*, six *abhiññā*, seven *anāsaṅga dharma*, seven *samādhi*, seven *āsrava-kṣaya-bala*, seven *bodhyaṅga*, eight *samyak-mārga*, eight *abhibhūyatana*, eight *vimokṣa*, eight *abhimukhi-mārga*, nine *sarñjñā*, nine *muditā dharma*, nine *samudācarā*, nine *ānupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti*, ten *ārya-vihāra*, ten *ārya-vihāra*, ten *asaikṣa*, ten *āsrava-kṣaya* these are the law of higher man.

The Vinayas of other schools have the corresponding passage on the *uttaramanuṣya-dharma* or the law of higher men but nothing in

that connection relating to practice of exertion (*vīrya*) and the law of ordinary men. The *uttarimanussa-dhamma*, according to the Pali Vinaya consists of four *jhāna*, *vimokkha*, *samādhi*, *samāpatti*, *nānam* including three *vijjā*, *maggabhāvanā* including 4 *saṭipatṭhāna*, 4 *sam-māppadhāna*, 4 *iddhi*, 5 *indriya*, 5 *bala*, 7 *bojjhaṅga*, 8 *atthaṅgika-maggo*, *phalasacchikriya* i.e. the realisation of the 4 *phalas*, *kilesapahāna*, *vinivāraṇatā* and *suññagāre abhirati*.

The Mahīśāsaka-vinaya formulates the law of higher men in the following terms: 4 *dhyāna*, 4 *aprameya-sthāna*, 4 *arūpa samādhi*, 4 *smṛtiyupasthāna*, 8 *ārya-mārga*, 3 *vimokṣa-dvāra*, 8 *vimokṣa*, *ānupūrvavihāra-samāpatti*, 10 *kṛtsna* (*Kaśina*), 10 *uṭṭhāna-mārga*, 4 *śrāmaṇya-phala*, 3 *vidyā* and 6 *abhiññā*.

The Dharmaguptaka-vinaya defines it simply as Arhatship, *dhyāna*, *ṛddhipada*, *paracittajñāna*.

The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya—4 *phala*, 4 *dhyāna*, *aprameya-maitrī-citta*, *aprameya karuṇa-citta*, *aprameya mudita-citta*, *aprameya upekṣā-citta*, *aprameya ākāśāyatana*, *viññānāyatana*, *ākīñcanyāyatana*, *naiva saṃjñī*, *naiva asaṃjñī*, *aśubha-bhāvanā* and *ānapāna-smṛti*.

The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-vinaya has: 4 *dhyāna*, *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*, 4 *aprameya ākāśāyatana*, *viññānāyatana*, *ākīñcanyāyatana*, *naiva saṃjñī*, *naiva asaṃjñī*, 4 *phala*, 6 *abhiññā* and 8 *vimokṣa*. It besides mentions 20 other *saṃjñās* which are more or less connected with *samādhi*, *samāpatti* etc. These *saṃjñās* are: *anitya*, *duḥkha*, *sūnya*, *nairātmya*, *nirviṇṇo virajyate*, *ādinava*, *āvarena-vyāvachcheda*, *virāga*, *nirodha*, *aśubha* etc.

A comparison of these lists shows that the essential qualities of an *uttaramaṇuṣya* consisted of different degrees of spiritual culture leading to the attainment of Arhatship. It also involved the attainment of such powers as *ṛddhi* and *paracitta-jñāna*, the magical powers of four kinds and the power of knowing others' mind. In addition to these the Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda include the practice of the four *brahma-vihāras*—*maitrī* (love), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (feeling of joy at others' success) and *upekṣā* (equanimity).

But Aśoka evidently was not acquainted with any of these technical expositions of the law. He has a feeling of compassion for his subjects, worked with exertion for their moral and spiritual uplift but does not make use of the technical expressions to describe his attitude. He speaks of the spiritually elevated man but does not call him an *uttaramaṇṣya*, as all the Vinayas do but a *mahātpa* (*mahātman*), an *usaṭa* (*ucchrita*). In this capacity he claims certain spiritual and magical powers such as causing others to attain heavenly bliss, and making gods mix with men which they were not used to do formerly. Probably in this light also, we have to understand his claim to have shown the people such supernatural spectacles as those of celestial chariots, elephant and fiery bodies (*vimāna-dasaṇā ca hasti-dasaṇā ca agiḥhamdāni ca añāni ca divyāni rūpāni*). These also constitute his claim to magical powers (*ṛddhi*) which was one of the essential qualities of the *uttaramaṇṣya*.

Absence of the use of technical expressions in Aśoka's exposition of the law shows first of all that the dhamma was still in a state of flux and that it had not yet been formulated in those categories which are found in the canonical literature. Secondly the Vinayapiṭakas of various schools including even the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya which preserves the most accurate memory of Aśoka's exposition of the law must have been compiled after Aśoka's times.

Conclusion

The problems I have placed before you are serious enough to deserve our closest attention. Buddhist studies are bound to play a preponderating rôle in our future researches. We can no more afford to speak loosely of the origins of Buddhism and Buddhist canon. A greater precision is required in our chronological scheme, before we can freely use the vast Buddhist literature for reconstructing the history of our past. Materials for the comparative study which alone can help us in that direction are abundant. There is an immense collection of Buddhist Texts in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian trans-

lations representing all phases of Buddhism. They remove the vast lacunae which impede the progress of our study with the available Indian sources alone. There are besides precious literary finds in Central Asian collections of antiquities which help us to recover many a lost clue in interpretation.

Buddhism represents the international aspect of Indian civilisation. If in India and China it has almost ceased to exist as a living religion that does not mean that it is dead. In India it disappeared as a distinct religion for historical reasons after giving rise to all that is best in our national culture. It had given to us an art and a literature of which we are still proud, a number of theistic cults, various systems of philosophy and over and above a mysticism which later on became the common meeting ground of diverse faiths. So it is dead only in name. It still forms the vital current of our civilisation. In China also it lives not only in the philosophy of the Song period which even today plays the most important part in the cultural life of China but also in her art and literature. Besides, Buddhism is still a living force in Tibet, Mongolia, the Siberian steppes, Manchuria, Corea, Japan, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Burma and Ceylon. In all these countries the ancient holy texts are zealously studied either in their Indian originals or their ancient translations. The pious Buddhists of all those countries still look up to India, the land of Buddha Śākyamuni, as their Holy Land.

We are now at the parting of ways. A new age is dawning before us. But we can still follow the lessons of the past to the benefit of humanity. Our ancestors had once carried the noblest of our message to the rest of Asia without prejudices and ulterior motives and succeeded in bringing together under one civilising influence nearly half the population of the world. We can still attain that same ideal if we follow their footsteps.

It is therefore clear that no scheme of Cultural Reconstruction of India can afford to neglect the study of Buddhist Civilisation. An Asiatic Academy which will centre round Buddhistic studies in all its

phases, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchurian, Corean, Japanese, Siamese, Annamese, Cambodian, Burmese and Ceylonese can render the greatest service to the cause of humanity by bringing about a profound cultural understanding between the races of three quarters of Asia. It is still up to us to show the way.

TEXTS

Mahīśāsaka-Vinaya

Buddha was staying in Vaiśālī. At that time a famine broke out and it was difficult to get alms. Bhikṣus entering the city for piṇḍa-pāta could not get anything. The Lord then said to the Bhikṣus—You all should go to summer residence with your acquaintances. Don't live in this place which is afflicted by famine. The Bhikṣus followed his instruction. Some went to the country of Magadha. Some went to a village on the bank of the river Pu-k'iu-mu (Vaggumudā). On going to the river bank, the Bhikṣus assembled and said among themselves—It is now difficult to get alms. There are believers in this village. We should mutually praise each other saying—Such one has obtained the first dhyāna. Such one has obtained the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th dhyāna, and attained the 4 *aprameya-sthāna* and 4 *arūpa-samādhi*. I have also obtained them. Such one has obtained the 4 *smṛtyupasthāna* etc. up to 8 *ārya mārga* and 3 *vimokṣa-dvāra*. I have also obtained them. Such other Bhikṣus have obtained 8 *vimokṣa*, 9 *ānupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti*, 10 *kṛtsna*, 10 *utthāna-mārga*, I have also obtained them. Such others have obtained firm faith, firm law, 4 *śrāmaṇya-phala*, 3 *vidyā* and 6 *abhijñā*. I have also obtained them. When all the Upāsakas will have heard it, they will be taken by wonder and will say—We have obtained benefits. Such saintly men who have realised the law have come to our village to pass the rains. Thus they all will offer excellent food to us. We will obtain incessantly abode of peace and happiness. After thus discussing among themselves they entered the village and coming to the houses of the

people they mutually praised each other in the above language and told the people—You have obtained great benefit as the noble ones who are repositories of merits live in your village. All the Upāsakas were happy as they had never been before.

Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya

At that time the Lord was staying in a high storied Assembly Hall on the bank of the Markaṭa river in Vaiśālī. The cereals became dear, the people became famished and it was difficult to get food by begging. The Lord then asked Ānanda to call all Bhikṣus staying in Vaiśālī to assemble in the Assembly Hall. The Bhikṣus came to the assembly, bowed at the feet of the Buddha, waited on one side and said to the Buddha: The Bhikṣus of Vaiśālī are assembled in the Assembly Hall. Only the Noble One knows the time. The Lord then immediately went to the Assembly Hall, sat in the middle of the great community and said to the Bhikṣus: You should know that at present the cereals have become dear, the people are famished and it is difficult to get food by begging. Those who have their Upādhyāya, Ācārya, Kalyāṇamitra and acquaintances may take their summer residence (in places) to the right and the left of Vaiśālī according to their convenience. I should remain at this place for the summer residence in order to keep in mind the poverty and the suffering of the community on account of difficulty to obtain food and drink. The Bhikṣus having listened to the instruction of the Lord, immediately followed their Upādhyāya, Ācārya, Kalyāṇamitra or acquaintances to the right and the left of Vaiśālī for their summer residence. The Lord remained in Vaiśālī inside the city for his summer residence. At that time those Bhikṣus of the community who took up their summer residence in the Saṅghārāma on the bank of the river Po-k'iu (Vaggu) thought thus—At present in this kingdom cereals are dear, people are famished and it is difficult to get food by begging. By what means can we get food and drink without pain? They at once thought and said—We should now go to the houses of the Upāsakas and tell them that we have attained *uttaramanuṣyā-dharma*, that we have become Arhat, obtained *dhyāna*, *ṛddhipada* and *paracittajñāna*. We will then praise each other by saying that this one has become Arhat, this one has attained *dhyāna*.....Then those who have faith will be happy and the Upāsakas possessing food and drink will not venture to take them themselves or to give them to their wives and children. They will offer them to us. All the upāsakas will then surely praise us and

say—All of them are really repositories of merits and worthy of respect. Thus we will get tasty food and drink.

Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya

Buddha was staying at Vaiśālī. It was the time for summer residence. He was accompanied by the large community of Bhikṣus. There was famine in the land and it was difficult to get alms. All men, women, children had not enough food and drink for themselves. How to give alms to others. On account of this, Buddha assembled the Bhikṣus and said—You should know that there is famine in this place and it is difficult to get alms. Men, women and children have not enough food and drink for themselves. All are subjected to pain and suffering. How to give alms to others. You Bhikṣus, follow your acquaintances, co-villagers and faithful ones for going to summer residence. Do not stay here for food and drink and subject yourself to pain and suffering. The Bhikṣus then went to the summer residence following their acquaintances. A number of Bhikṣus went to a place in the kingdom of Kośala for their summer residence. There were other Bhikṣus who went to a village on the bank of the river Po-kiu-mo (Vaggumudā) for summer residence. All men living in the village were nobles. They had slaves, wealth, jewels, grains, rice, abundant and of various kinds. The Bhikṣus who were having their summer residence on the bank of the river made this reflection—At present there is famine and it is difficult to get alms. All men, women and children have not enough food and drink for themselves. They have no alms to give to others. In this village there are many rich and noble families with grains and rice in abundance. We should go to these families and mutually praise each other by saying thus—The Upāsaka ought to know that you all have obtained great and good benefit. The great community of Bhikṣus have come for their summer residence to your village. At present among them such one is an Arhat, such one is an Arhat-pratipannaka, such one is Sakṛdāgāmin, such one is Sakṛdāgāmin-pratipannaka, such one is Srotāpanna, such one is Srotāpanna-pratipannaka, such one has obtained the first dhyāna, second dhyāna, third dhyāna and fourth dhyāna, such one has obtained *aprameya maññi-citta*, *karuṇā-citta*, *muditā-citta*, *upekṣā-citta*. Such one has obtained *ākāśāyatana*, *vijñāna-āyatana*, *ākāñcanya-āyatana* *naiva-samjñi-naiva-asamjñi-āyatana*. Such one has obtained *aśubha-bhāvanā*. Such one has obtained *Ānapāna-smṛti*. All the Bhikṣus thought like this.....

Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya

At that time the Lord with 500 fishermen, after they had left the house and received their initiation, arrived at the bamboo forest to the north of the village from Vaiśālī and lived under the śimśapā tree. At that time there was famine and it was difficult to get alms. The parents were not helping even the sons and the servants. They had nothing to give as alms to others. The Lord then said to the Bhikṣus—At present there is famine and it is difficult to get alms. The father, sons and servants no longer help each other. Each of you should follow your friends and go to places which you think (best). Have your summer residence in some village near Vaiśālī. Ānanda and myself will stay in this forest. The Bhikṣus heard it and acted according to his instruction. Each of them followed his friend. They went to have their summer residence in a village near Vaiśālī. Thereupon the 500 *sugata* (?) Bhikṣus said to each other—We should follow the instruction of the Lord. At present there is famine.....will stay in this forest. Now in the fishermen's village we have our own relatives. We should go and ask them. We will make suitable grass huts outside the village and pass the rains there.

Thereupon the 500 Bhikṣus went to the fishermen's village and asked their relatives to prepare small cottages outside the village for their residence. Then the Bhikṣus said to each other—We have heard little, we do not have any learning or knowledge. If all our relatives come and ask questions how will we speak on the law. If they come we will have recourse to mutual praise and say—You relatives have obtained great benefit. In your village there are some excellent Bhikṣus who have come for summer residence. These Bhikṣus have obtained—*anitya-samjñā*, *duḥkha*-, *śūnya*-, *anātmā*-, *nirviṇṇo vira-jyate*-, *ādinava*-, *āvaraṇa-vyāvachchedaka*-, *virāga*-, *nīrodha*-, *māraṇa*-, *aśubha*-, *vinīlaka*-, *vyādhamataka*-, *vidhūtika(vipūyaka)*-, *vikhādītaka*-, *vilohitaka*-, *vikṣiptaka*-, *asthi*-, and *śūnya-bhāvanā*.....

Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya

The section concerning the *uttara-manuṣya-dharma* is fairly big in this Vinaya. Buddha was at Śrāvastī. The Bhikṣus were then returning after the end of the *varṣāvāsa*. Buddha as usual enquired about their welfare and asked if they were well treated by the laymen in course of their residence. One party said that they were not well treated and that they did not get enough food whereas the other party said that they had no such difficulty with them and that they were

quite happy. On further enquiry about the cause of this differential treatment Buddha came to know that the party which was well-treated used to praise themselves and falsely attribute to themselves the merits of a *uttasamanuṣṣya*. Buddha took them to task for their conduct and illustrated with the story of a famished wolf masquerading as a religious person taking to fast in order to attract prey how heinous was their conduct.

On another occasion while Buddha was at Śrāvastī another Bhikṣu committed the same sin by posing as a *uttara-manuṣṣya*. The Bhikṣu was practising religion in the forest and attained some spiritual powers. He thought that he had become an Arhat. He then went to the city and soon found himself entangled in worldly ways. He realised that he had not really attained the powers of an Arhat. He felt guilty and admitted everything to Buddha. Then under the instruction of Buddha he practised the right meditation with exertion (*vīrya*) and attained Arhatphala. When the Bhikṣus enquired about the cause of this success, Buddha replied that in the past Kalpa also that man had received similar favours from him. The next part of the account is as follows:

There was a poor Brahmin who came to the city from outside. That was a day of festivity. All men in the city were riding—some on elephants, some on horses, some in chariots, some in palanquins. They were bathing, using scents, putting on new cloths and enjoying the fulfilment of five desires. The Brahmin then asked a man why they were thus amusing themselves. He answered—Do you not know? The Brahmin replied—No. The man replied—Oh, Brahmin, these people acquired much merit in their former lives. They again performed their household duties well and with exertion. So they are enjoying themselves. The Brahmin then thought—The hands, feet, and the four limbs of all these people are not different from mine. I also may be able to get wealth by exerting myself with all physical force. Then he returned home and said to his wife—I intend to go far to seek wealth by exerting myself with all physical force. The wife said—You can easily get food and drink near at hand, why should you go afar? The Brahmin said—No you cannot get it here. I should go afar. The wife then thought—I do not know what will come out of his intention to go abroad. She then said—Then go and do as you like; be careful about yourself. The Brahmin thereupon told his wife—Be careful and take care of the children. Then he went

away and reached a town on the sea shore. He saw there lots of merchants either worshipping or having meetings and calling people thus—Who will go with us to the sea to get pearls? The Brahmin said—I wish to go to the sea. The merchants asked him—What money or goods have you got? He answered—I have no money and no goods. I only wish to follow you, beg my food and to pray and use my charms for you. The merchants then allowed him to come to the ship only for the sake of his blessing. They at once got a good wind and reached another town on the sea shore. The Brahmin then entered the town to beg his food. He also served hard to earn money. He got 32 pieces of pure gold, 14 mani beads. He then with his companions turned back towards the Jambudvipa and the boat reached the river bank. The Brahmin was then boasting—All the merchants went with money and commodities, got things and returned. There is nothing wonderful about it. I went empty handed and came back with these precious gems. This is wonderful. He felt extremely happy and began to jump about with the gems in his hand. His gems suddenly fell into the sea. The Brahmin was greatly mortified and said—I went through great hardship in order to get these gems. How soon are they lost in the water? I must churn the sea and get back the gems. Then he went down to the shore, got a good piece of wood, went to a carpenter and asked him—Kindly make a round log of wood for me. The carpenter made it. The blacksmith made a hand-winch. He came to the sea shore with the wooden log, took off his clothes and with bare foot went into the water to churn the sea. There was then a sea-god who thought—What is this Brahmin going to do? I should ask him. He changed himself into a Brahmin and asked him in the following gāthā—

Taking off clothes, with naked arms and legs,

Hurriedly going to do some urgent thing;

So I ask you—what do you wish to do?

The Brahmin replied in a gāthā—

This great sea water is deep and wide

And Lord of all rivers;

I have now made a device

With which I wish to churn it to the end.

Then the sea-god said—

The great sea, lord of all rivers

What has it done to you?

That you have adopted a device
To churn it to the end.

The Brahmin replied—

I went through great hardship
I crossed the sea and got pearls and gems,
I got pure gold, thirty-two pieces;
Maṇi, I got 14 pieces;
Leaving the ship I was going to the shore;
The bag of gems fell into the sea.
I am searching for the gems and pearls;
So I am churning the sea.

The sea-god said—

The sea is deep and vast;
Hundred rivers flow into it and of them it is the lord;
During hundred thousand years
You cannot churn it to the end.

The Brahmin then replied—

The sun and moon rise and set, they never end;
This log of wood and hand-winch are hard to break
With exertion and energy without end
Why can the sea not be dried up?

After speaking the gāthā, the Brahmin started churning the sea. He went back to the shore and again came down. The sea-god examined the Brahmin's mind and discovered his energetic intention not to retreat but to keep on (doing so). The sea-god then thought—By churning the sea even for hundred years he cannot destroy a bit of it. So being pleased with his exertion he returned the gems to him. The Brahmin then said—

By means of exertion, mind constantly fixed,
Though lost, I have got it back through energy.

Buddha then told the Bhikṣus—Do you think that the sea-god of that time was a different person? It was me. The Brahmin is this Bhikṣu. During the past kalpa through my favour he got the fruit of exertion. Now again due to this exertion and by the practice of samyag-dṛṣṭi he gave up despising the noble path and became an Arhat. Buddha then told the Bhikṣus—Let all the Bhikṣus of the city of Vaiśālī assemble for the sake of ten benefits, so that the rule of discipline may be proclaimed. Even those who have heard must hear it again.—If a Bhikṣu without knowing and without understanding,

praises himself by saying that he has obtained the *uttara-manuṣya-dharma*, the knowledge of the Āryas, and the knowledge of higher things and says—I have got such knowledge, I have got such sight and afterwards either by verifying or by not verifying and seeking to purify himself for the commission of the sin, he says—Elder. I did not know and still said I knew, I did not see and still said I saw—this is an empty lie and not the truth. It is giving up and despising the higher thing (*anuttara*). Such a Bhikṣu is Pārājika. He should not have common residence.

Bhikṣu- A Bhikṣu is one who has attained full twenty years of age and received the śikṣāpadaś. *Does not know*—for want of knowledge. *Does not understand* for want of decision. *Praises himself* praises his own self. Obtained *uttaramanuṣya-dharma* (law of superior men)—

Man's law (manuṣya-dharma) consists of five desires, five lower bonds (*avara-bhāgiya*), six existences (*saḍ gati*), six roots of quarrel (*vivāda-mūla*?), seven *anuśaya*, eight false existences, eight dharmas, nine *māna* or conceit, nine kinds of suffering (*pradāśa*), ten good acts and ten bad acts. Also the law of man is like what Buddha said in the following *gāthā* being questioned by a Devaputra—

In the path of wilderness to make good wells,
To plant trees and gardens for giving fruits in charity
To plant trees and forests to give cool shade
To make charity and practice pure rules of conduct
To give up jealousy and greediness through the practice
of knowledge and wisdom;

These make the merits increase day and night
And always leads to birth among heavenly beings.

Such is the law of man. And again filial piety to father and mother, attention to Śramaṇa and Brāhmaṇa, showing great respect to those who practise Brahmacarya, all these are man's law.

The law of superior men -uttaramanuṣya-dharma is—ten kinds of knowledge of the law, the knowledge of the unknown, the knowledge of the past, the knowledge of others' minds, that of *duḥkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha* and *kṣaya* and that of non-production. It is *nirodha* and *kṣaya*, *vimokṣa*, *adhika-kuśala-citta*, *vipāka-kuśalamūla*, pure and impure *vimokṣa*, *vidyā*, *dharma*, *śrotāpanna-phala* and its *samādhi*. Entering it well, coming out of it well, staying in it well and enjoying it well constitute realisation. These are *śamathā-vipaśyanā*, three

samādhi, three vidyā, four smṛtyupasthāna, four samyak-vīrya, four rddhipada, four dhyāna, four aprameya-citta, four ārūpya-samādhi, four ārya-mārga, four ārya-gotrabhu, four ārya-satya and four śrāmaṇyaphala.

It also consists of five aṅga-samādhi, five indriya, five bala, five vimokṣa, six anuttara-dharma, six vitarka, six smṛti, six abhijñā, seven ratna (?), seven anāsaṅga-dharma, seven samādhi, seven āsrava-kṣaya-bala, seven bodhyaṅga, eight samyak-mārga, eight abhibhvāyātana, eight vimokṣa, eight abhimukhi-mārga, nine saṁjñā, nine mudita-dharma, nine samudācāra, nine ānupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti, ten ārya-vihāra.....ten aśaikṣa, ten āsrava-kṣaya. These are the law of uttara-manuṣya.

Sutta-vibhaṅga

Pārājika—IV (pp. 88, 91 ff.)

uttarimanussadhammassa vaṇṇam bhāsimsu- asuko bhikkhu paṭhamassa jhānassa lābhi -pa-asuko bhikkhu chaḷabhiñño ti.....

.....attūpanāyikam alamariyañña-dassanam samudācareyya iti jānāmi passāmiti tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno vā asamanuggāhiyamāno vā āpanno visuddhāpekkho evaṁ vadeyya : ajānam evaṁ āvusq avacam jānāmi apassam passāmi tuccham musā vilapin ti.....

.....adiṭṭhe diṭṭhasaññino apatte pattasaññino anadhigate anadhi-gatasaññino asachikate sacchikatasaññino adhimānena aññam byākariṁsu.....attūpanāyikam alamariyadassanam samudācareyya.....

uttarimanussadhammo nāma jhānam vimokkham samādhi samāpatti ñānadassanam maggabhāvanā phalasacchikiriya kilesapahānam vini-vāraṇatā cittassa suññāgāre abhirati.

P. C. BAGCHI

Chang so che lu (Jñeya-prakāśa-śāstra)

An Abhidharma work of Śāskya-Paṇḍita of Tibet

The *Chang so che lun* is a very interesting Buddhist text which was included in the Chinese Tripiṭaka collection of the Yuan period—Cf. Nanjio, Catalogue no. 1320, Taisho 1645, Shanghai edition XXIV, 4, Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, II. The text was not translated into Chinese from Sanskrit but from Tibetan. The original was composed by Śāskya Paṇḍita. The Chinese translation is attributed to Sha-lo-pa who was responsible for a few more translations from Tibetan into Chinese.

The interest of the work lies in its original character. It is a treatise of Abhidharma dealing briefly with all the Abhidharma topics. In course of his explanation of various topics the author refers to such works as *Abhidharma-samuccaya-śāstra*, *Pañca-skandhaka* and *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* but it is not a summary of those works. The author shows his acquaintance with the principal Abhidharma works and also his competence to discuss the topics in an original manner.

The work bears testimony to the profound Abhidharma knowledge of the Lamas in the 13th century. Buddhism was far from being decadent. The author Śāskya Paṇḍita the great Lama of the Śāskya Mahāvihāra of Lhasa had a great name. His disciple 'Phags-pa, who, we are told by the records of Yuan period, had made a mark by defeating the enemies of Buddhism in the religious Conference at Karakorum at the age of 17, attained a greater fame as the chief adviser of Kubilai Khan and as the accredited leader of the Buddhist Church of China and Tibet.

The story of the transmission of the present text is told as follows at the end of the text: "At the request of the Bodhisattva Chen-kin the august teacher Dharmarāja Śāskya Mahāpaṇḍita Pādapūjaniya handed down this text to the Bhikṣu 'Phags-pa Prajñādhvaja Śrībhadrā on the 23rd of the 8th month of the year *jen-yin* and it was compiled in the Śrī Śāskya monastery. The Vinayadhara and Sūtradhara Mañjughośa and Prajñāsimha took the pen in copying it".

The statement evidently refers to an oral transmission of the Abhidharma text to 'Phags-pa by Śāskya Paṇḍita at the request of the Crown Prince Chen-kin. But the cyclic letters indicating the date create a great difficulty. The year *jen-yin* within the possible limits corresponds to 1302 A. D. but this date is impossible. The Crown Prince Chen-kin, the eldest son of Kubilai, died in 1285 A. D. in Kubilai's life-time. 'Phags-pa died still earlier in 1280. He succeeded Śāskya Paṇḍita as Head of the Buddhist Church of Tibet in *circa* 1264 when probably the latter died. So the said transmission of the text must have taken place earlier than 1264. Therefore the only correction of the cyclical signs that is possible is *jen-shu* which would correspond to 1262. 'Phags-pa was about 24 years old then as he was born in 1239 and the Crown Prince Chen-kin being the eldest son of Kubilai was also of the same age. Kubilai himself was then about 49 years old.

The date of Sha-lo-pa's translation of the text into Chinese is also not certain. It is generally believed that he was in Peking in the K'ing-sheou monastery from 1311 to 1314 (the year of his death) and that all his translations including the present text belong to that period. But this seems to be incorrect. There is a postscript to the present text which is attributed to one Kong-ki. It is dated in the 10th month of 1306 (Ping-wu of the period *ta-tō*). This is however not the date of the translation. The postscript says that the translation of the text was shown by one Cheng-fong the Duke of Lien to Kuan-chu-pa and that the latter included it in the Yuan Tripiṭaka which he was editing. So the translation must have been made before 1306 and it is not impossible that it was made before the death of 'Phags-pa in 1280 and under his own supervision.

The treatise is divided into two fasciculi of which the first contains two chapters on *Bhājana-lokadhātu* and *Sattva-lokadhātu*. The second fasciculi contains three chapters on *Mārgadharma*, *Phaladharma* and *Āśaikṣadharma*. The latter part of the description of the *Sattvalokadhātu* deals with the origin of the Śākya race, the geneology of the Śākyas and the transmission of the law after the death of Buddha. It ends with an account of the family of Kubilai Khan. So far as I know this is the oldest Tibetan account of the transmission of the law as it is almost a century earlier than Bu-ston's "History of Buddhism in India and Tibet". As this account is quite clear and trustworthy and as it throws some new

had attained the age of 16, a casket containing Buddhist texts fell on the summit of the palace from the skies. The king also had a dream in which it was prophesied to him that in the 5th generation one would come to know the meaning of these texts.

The fifth in descent from Thothori was Shuang-tsan-sse-kan-po i. e. Srong-btsan Sgam-po (600-650 A. D.). It was in his time that Buddhism was firmly established in Tibet. The present text mentions T'ong-mi-san-po-lo (Thoñmi Sambhota) who translated the holy teachings for the first time. Another name of Thoñmi Saubhota is given as A-ta-t'o which is however not known from other sources. Bu-ston mentions him as the son of A-nu. Srong-btsan was also responsible for building Buddhist monasteries at Lha-sa and helping in the propagation of the law within the country. But the present account is not so eloquent as Bu-ston and other later records on the Buddhist activities during Srong-btsan's reign.

The next king mentioned in the present account is Ki-li-shuang-ti-tsan-Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-797) who was the 5th in descent from Srong-btsan. He invited Padmasambhava, Kamalaśīla and other Siddhas from India. The seven teachers including Vairocanarakṣita and Nagendra-rakṣita who translated the Buddhist teachings in this period are also known to Bu-ston. They were Tibetan scholars and mentioned by Bu-ston as the seven selected ones. Of the seven, the three elder ones were Mañjuśrī of Ba, Devendra of Tsan, and Kumudika of Tan. The three younger ones were Nagendra of Khoñ, Vairocana of Pa-k'or and Rin-chen-chog of Ma. The intermediate one was Katana of Lan. Bu-ston clearly says that they were first seven monks of Tibet all belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school and ordained by Padmasambhava (*Bu-ston*, translation of E. Obermiller p. 190). This shows that the progress of Buddhism in Tibet in the earlier period was not so great as is generally believed.

The next and last Tibetan king to be mentioned in the Chinese record is Ki-li-lai-pa-chen i.e. Khri Ral-pa-chen (804-816 A.D.). He came three generations after Khri Srong-lde-btsan. The kingdom of Ral-pa-chen, we are told, was very large. Amongst the translators of this period the Chinese text mentions Jinamitra, Sse-ko-ka-ki-siang i.e. Śākyajñānaśrī(?), Tsi-chou-lo Nāgadhvaṛja etc. The names of the first two are only found in Bu-ston. The latter says (*ibid.* pp. 196-197) that according to a decree of the king of the Aparāntaka, teachers Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Silendra-

bodhi, and Bodhimitra and the Tibetan teachers Ratnarakṣita and Dharmasīla, the skilful translators Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañjuśrivarman, Ratnendrasīla and others were appointed translators of the holy texts, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

The Chinese account does not speak about the subsequent period as it was the period during which Lang-dar-ma carried on his persecution of Buddhism. The Chinese text next gives the genealogy of the Mongol emperors from the time of Chingiz to that of the successors of Kubilai. The account runs as follows :

“In the north, in the Mong-ku (Mongol) kingdom, through the maturation of the fruits of the merits of an earlier life was born a king whose name was Cheng-ki-sse i.e. Chingiz. From the beginning Chingiz became the overlord of countries with many languages, like an Iron-Wheelking (Lauha-cakravartī-rāja). Chingiz had two sons O-ko-tai i.e. Ogodoi. Ogodoi was also called Ko-kan. He succeeded to the throne and extended his empire. He had a son named Wei-ku i.e. Guyuk who succeeded him. The youngest son of Chingiz was Tu-lo i.e. Tului. The eldest son of Tului was Mong-ko i.e. Mongku who succeeded to the throne. The younger brother of the king was called Hu-pi-lai i.e. Kubilai who became king after him. In his time, Buddhism spread to all countries. The Emperor himself became a supporter of the teachings of Buddha. The Emperor has three sons—the eldest is Chen-kin, who is like a god adorning the precious law, the second is Mong-ko-la i.e. Mangala and the third is Na-mo-han i.e. Namokan.”

The order of the succession has not been quite clearly stated in the above account. We know that the vast empire of Chingiz was divided among his sons. Northern Mongolia with its capital Karakorum was given to Ogodoi and Eastern Mongolia to Tului. Mongku succeeded his father in 1251. On his death in 1259 Kubilai succeeded his brother. The present account was evidently compiled when Kubilai was on the throne and all his three sons were alive. Kubilai ruled till 1294 and all his three sons died in his life-time. The eldest Chen-kin died in 1285 and as he was a pious Buddhist the Emperor assembled 40,000 Buddhist monks on the occasion of his funeral service. Mangala who was in charge of Western territories died in 1280 in fighting. Namokan was captured in 1277 in course of a battle with Kaidu of the line

of Ogodoi. So, on the death of Kubilai it was his grandson Timur, the son of Chen-kin, who succeeded to the vast empire of Kubilai.

The present account supplies an additional evidence in support of the date which we have already suggested for the compilation. We have said that date of the compilation was most probably 1262. The present account shows that it must have been compiled before 1277 when all the three Princes were alive.

The present account probably throws some light on the origin of the name of Chingiz. He is called here an "Iron-Wheel-King." According to the Buddhist legends such a king is the last of the four Cakravartī kings. The present age is suitable for the birth of an Iron-Wheel king only. This analogy may have also another implication. The earlier name of Chingiz was Temujin which is generally explained as originating from Temurjin—"a blacksmith," the root word being Temur or Tamur which means "iron" (Grousset—*Histoire de l'Orient*, II, p. 405, n. 5). The present analogy with an "Iron-Wheel-king" may contain a veiled reference to the origin of Chingiz.

The continuity of the result of causes and the dependent origination (hetuphalasambandha-pratyutpanna-dharma)

It is produced by dependent origination and hence it is called *pratyutpanna*. It is of two kinds—*bahir-pratyutpanna* and *antar-pratyutpanna*. The *bahir*—is the *lokadharma* just as a seed produces a shoot, as stated before. The *antar*—is just like *avidyā* giving rise to *saṃskāra* etc. This is the progressive (*anuloma*) dependent origination. When the *avidyā* is destroyed *saṃskāra* etc. are also destroyed. It is the regressive (*pratiloma*) dependent origination. The progressive one is of seven kinds: *āvasthika*, *prākaraṣika*, *sāmbandhika*, *kṣaṇika*, *trayo'ntika*, *ubhayato hetuphala*, *trirānuśaya*.

(i) *āvasthika*—These are the five skandhas of all *kleśas* of the previous birth. It is called *avidyā* as it is dominated by *avidyā*. All that is described below is dominated by *avidyā*. The *saṃskāra* and the rest of the dharmas are named according to their respective importance. Each has five skandhas. What is *saṃskāra*? It is the five skandhas of the good and bad (*kuśalākūśala*) acts of the previous life. What is *Vijñāna*? It is the five skandhas of one *kṣaṇa* (*pratisandhikṣaṇa*) when there is origination in the mother's embryo. What is *nāmarūpa*? It is the five skandhas (of the inter-

mediate state) after the origination of *viññāna* and before the origination of the *saḍāyatana*. What is *nāma*? It consists of the four skandhas of *vedanā*, *saṁjñā*, *saṁskāra* and *viññāna*. Hence it is called *nāma*. What is *rūpa*? It is the state of embryo-*kalala arbuda*, *peṣi*, *ghana* and *praśākha*. These five are called *rūpa*. What is *saḍāyatana*? It is the five skandhas of the separately undistinguishable *viṣaya* subsequent to the production of the eyes etc. but before the coming together of the three (i. e. *indriya*, *viṣaya* and *viññāna*) takes place. What is *sparśa*? It is the five skandhas of the state when the three *indriya*, *viṣaya* and *viññāna* come together but the cause of *duḥkha* and *sukha* is not yet separately distinguishable. What is *vedanā*? It is the five skandhas of the distinguished cause of the three *vedanās* of the child who has not attained the state of *kāma*. What is *trṣṇā*? When one is grown up he develops the sense of sexual hankering but does not as yet seek for it. It is the five skandhas of that state. What is *upādāna*? It is the five skandhas of the state in which one seeks for agreeable things. What is *bhava*? It is the five skandhas of the state in which takes place after seeking the accumulation of what brings about the future *phala*. What is *jāti*? It is the five skandhas of the state beginning with *karma* and ending with life. What is *jarāmaraṇa*? It is the five skandhas of the causes of future birth from *rūpa* to *vedanā*. The Sarvāstivāda considers the *āvasthika*, *prākarsika* and *sāmbandhika* as the same. According to the Sautrāntikas there is no *āvasthika*.

(ii) *Prākarsika*—What is *prākarsika*? It is known as *avidyā* and that which is contrary to *vidyā*. It causes the production of the *caitta-dharmas*. What is *saṁskāra*? It is that which causes the production of *karma* such as *puṇya*, *apūṇya*, *puṇyāpuṇya* etc. What is *viññāna*? It is the state commencing with *karma* till the production of *viññāna* is caused. What is *nāmarūpa*? It is five skandhas of the embryo. What is *saḍāyatana*? It is the birth of *indriyas* such as *cakṣu* etc. What is *sparśa*? *Indriya*, *viṣaya* and *viññāna* are the three which come together. These differentiate the *caitta-dharmas*. What is *vedanā*? It produces *duḥkha*, *sukha*, *upekṣā* etc. What is *trṣṇā*? It concerns the objects of pleasure (*sukha*). What is *upādāna*? It is the searching for the objects. What is *bhava*? It is the production of the future *karma*. What is *jāti*? It is due to the continuity of *karma*. What is *jarāmaraṇa*? It produces the next birth and the death.

(iii). *Sāmbandhika*—it is the same as above.

(iv). *Kṣaṇika*—When all the twelve branches of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* occur simultaneously in one moment it is called *kṣaṇika*. At the time when there is desire to murder, there is *moha* which is *avidyā*. When the life is destroyed it is *saṃskāra*. The knowledge of the object is *viññāna*, the five skandhas when united are *nāmarūpa*. The indriyas of *nāmarūpa* are called *ṣaḍāyatana*. The *indriya*, *viśaya* and *viññāna*, the three together are called *sparśa*. The *sparśa* causes *vedanā*. The will is *rāga*. All these together produce *upādāna*. The two acts relating to body and speech are called *bhava*. The collection of these dharmas produce *jāti*. The maturation (*vipāka*) produces *jarā* and the extinction produces *maraṇa*.

(v) *Trayo'ntika*—The *avidyā* and *saṃskāra* come from the past life and are called the causal branches. The five branches *viññāna* etc. belong to the present and are called the resultant branches. *Rāga*, *upādāna* and *bhava* of the present are called causal branches of the future. The *jāti*, *jarāmaraṇa* which belong to the future are called *phala*. So the past two branches, the present eight and the future two are in all twelve branches.

(vi) *ubhayato hetupala*—It is of two kinds.—One is anterior and the other is posterior. The anterior one—its is the *avidyā* which is the *anūsaya* of the previous life. *Samskāra* is the *karma*. These are the two causal branches. From these are produced the five branches beginning with *viññāna*. These are the resultant branches. This is the first set of *hetuphala*. The two branches, *rāga* and *upādāna* of the present life is *anūsaya*. *Bhava* is the *karma*. They produce the causes of the future. The *jāti* and *jarāmaraṇa* are the *phala*. This is another set of *hetuphala*. These are twelve branches and the two sets of the *hetuphala*.

(vii) *Trir-anūsaya*—What are the three *anūsayas*? *Avidyā*, *trṣṇā* and *upādāna* are the three *anūsayas*. *Samskāra* and *bhava* are the two *karmas*. These are called the *samudaya-satya*. The seven branches beginning with *viññāna* are *duḥkha* and so they are called *duḥkha-satya*. This is the *anuloma-pratītya-samutpāda*. What is the *pratiloma-pratītya-samutpāda*? When *avidyā* is destroyed, *saṃskāra* is destroyed. The destruction of *avidyā* produces the knowledge of *nairātmya*. This is the *mārga-satya*. If *avidyā* is destroyed, *saṃskāra* also is destroyed. By this *trṣṇā*, *upādāna* etc. also are destroyed. When these are destroyed the

jāti, *jarāmaraṇa* etc. are also destroyed. Hence these are called *nirodha-satya*. These are the four *satyas*.

The *pratītya-samutpāda* of the *bhājana* and *sattva* worlds and the four truths are all included in the five dharmas. These are: (i) *rūpa-dharma*, (ii) *citta dharma*, (iii) *caitta dharma*, (iv) *asaṁ-prayukta dharma* and (v) *asaṁskṛta dharma*.

(i) What is *rūpa dharma*? It is *rūpa-skandha*. The five *indriyas*, the five *viśayas* and the *avijñapti rūpa* are the eleven (*rūpa*) dharmas. What are the five *indriyas*. The atom of the *cakṣurindriya* is like the fragrant coriander flower. It remains in the eye ball (*cakṣu-taraka*). The atom of the *śrotrendriya* which is like the tree bark remains inside the drum of the ear. The atom of the *ghrāṇendriya* is like the smell of cucumber (?) remaining inside the nostrils. The atom of the *jihvendriya* is like the half moon spread on the tongue. The atom of the *kāyendriya* is like the whole body spread from head to foot. As the *indriyas* are (small) like the atoms (?) they cannot produce the object (*viśaya*).

What are the five *viśayas*? *Rūpa* is the corresponding *viśaya* of the *cakṣu*. It is of two kinds: (i) *varṇarūpaṁ* and (ii) *saṁsthānarūpaṁ*. *Varṇarūpaṁ* is of four kinds, blue, yellow, red and white. *Saṁsthānarūpaṁ* is of sixteen kinds: long (*dirgha*), short (*hrasva*), square (*caturasra*), circular (*parimaṇḍala*), high (*ucca*), low (*nīca*), straight, not straight, shining, shady, bright, obscured, cloudy, smoky, dusty, and foggy. The total number (of the *rūpa-dharmas*) is twenty.

The sound is the corresponding *viśaya* of the *śrotra*. It is of two kinds: *upātta-mahābhūta-hetuka* such as words and *anupātta-mahābhūta-hetuka* such as the sound of drum. Each of these again is of two kinds: *sattvākhyā* and *asattvākhyā* and are thus four in all. There are again two other kinds: *manojñā* and *amanojñā*. Thus they are in all six.

The smell is the corresponding *viśaya* of the *ghrāṇa*. It is of four kinds: *sugandha*, *durgandha*, *sama* and *viśama*.

The taste is the corresponding *viśaya* of *jihvā*. It is of six kinds: *madhura*, *amla*, *tikta*, *kaṭuka*, *lavaṇa* and *kaṣāya*.

The touch is the corresponding *viśaya* of the *kāyendriya*. There are four basic kinds of it: *ślakṣṇatvaṁ* and *karkaṣatvaṁ*, *gurutvaṁ* and *laghutvaṁ*, *śītaṁ* and *uṣṇaṁ*, *bubhukṣa* and *pipāsā*.

What is *avijñapti-rūpa*? It is the *rūpa* of neither *saṁvara* nor *asaṁvara*. So far it is about *rūpa-skandha*.

(ii) What is *citta dharma*? They are six : the *viññāna* of *cakṣu*, *śrotra*, *ghrāṇa*, *jihvā*, *kāya* and *manas*. These six are the *viññāna-skandhas*.

(iii) What is *caitta-dharma*? They are forty-six :

- a. *Mahābhūmika-dharmas* which are ten : *vedanā*, *saṁjñā*, *cetanā*, *manaskāra*, *adhimokṣa*, *chanda*, *sparśa*, *prajñā*, *smṛti*, *saṁādhi*. These ten are common to all thoughts and hence are called *mahābhūmika dharmas*.
- b. *Mahākuśalabhūmi-dharmas* which are ten : *śraddhā*, *apramāda*, *praśrabdhi*, *upekṣā*, *hrī*, *apatrāpya*, *alobha*, *adveṣa*, *ahiṁsā*, *vīrya*. These are common to all *kuśalacittas*, so they are called *kuśalabhūmi dharmas*.
- c. *Mahākṣaṇabhūmi-dharmas* which are six : *moha*, *pramāda*, *kausīdya*, *aśrāddhya*, *styāna*, *auddhatyam*. These six are common to all *kṣaṇacittas*, so they are called *mahākṣaṇabhūmi-dharma*.
- d. *Mahākuśalabhūmi-dharmas* which are two : *ahrikyan*, *anapatrāpyan*. These two are common to all *akuśalacittas*, so they are called *mahākuśalabhūmi-dharma*.
- e. *Upakṣaṇabhūmi-dharmas* which are of ten kinds : *krodha*, *upanāha*, *māyā*, *śāṭhyaṁ*, *īrṣyā*, *pradāsa*, *mrakṣa*, *mātsarya*, *māda*, *vihiṁsā*. They can be destroyed by practice. They are common to all *manoviññāna-bhūmis*, so they are called *upakṣaṇabhūmi-dharma*.
- f. *Aniṣyata-dharmas* which are eight : *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *kaukrtya*, *middha*, *pratigha*, *rāga*, *māna*, *vicikitsā*. These eight do not definitely belong to any of the above *bhūmis*, so they are called *aniṣyata*.

In the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and the *Pañcaskandhaka* there are 11.- In the *Kuśalabhūmi* there is one more : *amoha*, in the *Upakṣaṇabhūmi* there are two : *amanasikāra* and *anadhimokṣa* and in the *Mūlakṣaṇabhūmi* there are two : *asaṁprajanya* and *muṣita-smṛtitva*. But these are not found in the *Abhidharmakośa*.

The above *caitta-dharmas* excepting *vedanā* and *saṁjñā*, all belong to the *saṁskṛta-skandha*. So far about the *Caitta dharmas*.

(iv) The *Asaṁyukta-saṁskāra* are of fourteen kinds : *prāpti*, *aprāpti*, *sabhāgatā*, *āsaṁjñika-phala*, *āsaṁjñika-samāpatti*, *nirodha-samāpatti*, *jīvitendriya*, *jāti*, *sthiti*, *jarā*, *anītyatā*, *nāmakāya*, *padakāya*, *vyañjana-kāya*.

Again the *dharmas* which do not come together also belong to

the *asaṃyukta* category. The Sarvāstivāda considers the *rūpa*, *citta* and *caitta* the three dharmas as possessing substance but the Sautrāntika considers the three dharmas as conventional categories.

Excepting *vedanā* and *saṃjñā*, the 46 *caitta* and *asaṃyukta*-dharmas are *saṃskṛta-skandhas*. The *asaṃskṛta* dharmas will be explained later.

The *rūpa* dharmas are the ten *āyatanas* *cakṣu* etc. excepting the *avijñapti-rūpa*. The *citta* dharmas consist of seven *āyatanas* i.e. the six *viññānas* along with the *manendriya-āyatana*. The *āyatanas* are all included in the *āyatana* of mind. The *caitta* dharmas, *saṃprayukta* dharmas, *saṃskṛta* dharmas, *avijñapti* dharmas are called the *dharmā-dhātu* or *dharmā-āyatana*. So far about 5 dharmas, 5 skandhas, 12 *āyatanas*, and 18 dhātus.

Mārgadharma

1. *Sambhāra-mārga*. What is *mārga*? Those who have less desire and more contentment have the *gotra-svabhāva*. When the body and mind are removed from the various miscellaneous things they remain settled in *saṃvara* and *śīla*. One should be diligent in hearing. When one has heard much (*bahuśrūta*), he should fix his mind on the meaning of what he has heard. After thinking he should practise *śamathāvipaśyanā*. When there is too much of *lobha*, one should practise *aśuddha-bhāvanā*. When there is too much of *dveṣa* one should practise *maitrī-karuṇā-bhāvanā*. When there is too much of *moha* one should practise *Pratītya-samutpāda-bhāvanā* distinguishing the causes. When there is too much of pride one should practise *dhātupravivēkabhāvanā* 'distinguishing the dhātus.' When there is too much of distraction (*bahuvikṣepa*) one should practise counting the breaths.

When *śamatha-vipaśyanā* is practised, for the attainment of *vimokṣa* there is realisation according to the dharma both inside and outside of the body. It is called *kāya-smṛtyupasthāna*. When there is realisation according to the dharma of *duḥkha*, *sukha* and *upekṣā*, it is called *vedanā-smṛtyupasthāna*. When there is realisation according to the *citta-dharmas* of the six *viññānas*, it is called *cittānusmṛti*. When there is realisation according to the dharmas of *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra* and *asaṃskṛta*, it is called *dharmānusmṛti*. The practice of these four dharmas is called *sambhāra-mārga* which is the first *mārga*.

II. *Prayoga-mārga* (i) *Uṣmagata*—The *uṣmagata* leads to the cutting of the present evils and to the non-production of the future evils. It also leads to the increase of the present *kuśalotpatti* and to the production of the future *kuśalotpatti*. These four dharmas are called the *samyak pradhāna*.

(ii) *Mūrdhvan*—The *mūrdhvans* are the *chandakuśala-dharma-samāpatti*, *vīrya-sukha-kuśala-samāpatti*, *citta-kuśala-dharma-samāpatti* and *mīmāṃsā-kuśala-samāpatti*. These are the four *ṛddhipadas*.

(iii) *Kṣānti*—The practice of *samyak-dṛṣṭi* is pure. So it is *śraddhā*. The practice of *kuśala-dharma* with gladness is called *vīrya*. To clearly remember and not forget old memories is *smṛti*. To concentrate on one object is *samāpatti*. To know what to take and what to abandon is *prajñā*. The practice of these five dharmas can produce *kuśala-dharmas*. Hence they are called five *kuśala-mūlas*.

(iv) *Lokāgra*—The practice of *śraddhā*, *vīrya*, *smṛti*, *samāpatti*, *prajñā* etc. can destroy the *viruddha*. So they are called *bala*. So far it is *prayoga-mārga*.

III. *Darśana-mārga*. Knowing the four truths is called *samyak dṛṣṭi*. When right words are produced it is *samyak-mati*. When one speaks rightly according to law it is called *samyak-vāc*. To give up *akuśala-karmas* is *samyak-karma*. To give up bad living is *samyak-ājīva*. To seek *kuśala-dharma* is *samyak-vīrya*. To clearly remember the memories is *samyak-smṛti*. To concentrate on an object is *samyak-samāpatti*. These eight dharmas are called *ārya aṣṭāṅgika mārga*. So far it is *darśana-mārga*. With its help you can destroy the various *kleśas* and obtain *samādhi*.

The *duḥkha-satya* of the *kāmadhātu* consists of *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *māna*, *avidyā*, *moha*, *satkāya-dṛṣṭi*, *antagraha-dṛṣṭi*, *śīlavrata-parāmarśa-dṛṣṭi*, *dṛṣṭi-parāmarśa* and *mithyā-dṛṣṭi*. Each of the two *satyas*, *samudaya* and *nirodha*, excludes three *dṛṣṭis*. So they have $7 + 7 = 14$. That which is cut by the *mārga-satya* excludes two *dṛṣṭis*. Thus the four truths of the *Kāmadhātu* have 32 in all. Each of the four truths of the *Rūpadhātu* excludes *dveṣa*, so they have in all 28. For *Arūpa* it is the same (number). In these three *dhātus* the number of cutting by the *darśana-mārga* is 88.

IV. *Bhāvanā-mārga*. To remember clearly the *kuśala-dharmas*, it is *smṛti-bodhyaṅga*. To distinguish what to take and what to give up is *prajñā-bodhyaṅga*. To make extraordinary effort is *vīrya-bodhyaṅga*. To attain undefiled gladness is *prīti-bodhyaṅga*. The

lightness of the body and the mind is *praśrabdhībodhyaṅga*. Not to follow the *laukika dharma* and to be *anāsaṅga* and *amoha* is *upekṣā-bodhyaṅga*. To let the mind attain its *viśaya* is *samādhi-bodhyaṅga*. The practice of these seven *bodhyaṅgas* is called *bhāvanā-mārga*. It leads to the complete destruction of the *kleśas*, and the attainment of the *avyākṛta* and *anāsrava kuśala*. The Kāmadhatu has *chanda*, *dveṣa*, *moha*, and *avidyā*, in all four. Each of these has 9 (dharma). Thus in all there are 36. In the Rūpadhātu *dveṣa* is omitted from the first dhyāna. Of the remaining three, each has 9 with 27 (dharma) for each. The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th dhyānas of the Rūpadhātu have in all 108 (dharma). Arūpadhātu has the same (number). The *bhāvanā-mārga* of the three dhātus has thus 252 dharma in all.

V. Ten *Aśaikṣa-dharma*s. These are *samyak drṣṭi*, *samyak saṅkalpa*, *samyak vāc*, *samyak karma*, *samyak ājīva*, *samyak vīrya*, *samyak smṛti*, *samyak samādhi*, *samyak vimokṣa*. These constitute the *Aśaikṣa mārga*.

Phaladharmā.

What is *phala*? The 37 *bodhipākṣika dharma*s have been described above. They produce the mind (propitious) to get rid of the world of transmigration. The people who have sharp senses (*tīkṣendriya*) are very quick and obtain Arhatship in three births only. In the first birth they practise the *kuśalānugāmi-vimukti*. This is the *sambhāva-mārga*. In the second birth they practise *nīredha-bhāgīya-kuśala*. This is the *prayoga-mārga*. In the third birth they are like the Śramaṇa realising the fourth *phala*. So far as the people who have dull senses and are lazy are concerned, it is uncertain when they would obtain the *mārga*. They are like the Śramaṇa of the four Srotāpanna-phalas.

(i) *Srotāpanna*. In the *Prayogamārga*, one is established just in front of the Sattva and Bhājana-loka. All is then *duḥkha*. It is the nature of the *duḥkha-satya*. Next, on account of that there are *karma* and *kleśa*. This is the *samudayasatya*. When there is emancipation (*vimokṣa*) from it there is *nīrodha-satya*. On account of this there is *mārga-satya*.

When by practising well one realises the *mārga* he first sees the *duḥkha-satya*. The four aspects of the dharma are: (a) the transmigration is called *anitya*, (b) the three kinds of sufferings are called *duḥkha*, (c) the reality and the pudgala are not in one skandha, hence it is called *śūnyatā*, (d) the reality and pudgala

are separate and hence it is called *nairātmya*. This is the realisation of the four kinds of knowledge.

The realisation of the *samudāya-satya* has four aspects: (a) sowing the seed of the *duḥkhasatya* is *hetu*, (b) the present *duḥkhasatya* is *samudāya*, (c) the continuation of the *duḥkha* is *prabhava*, (d) to follow the *duḥkhasatya* is *pratyaya*. These lead to the realisation of the four kinds of knowledge.

The realisation of the *nirodha-satya* has four aspects: (a) the destruction of the cause of *duḥkha* is *nirodha*, (b) when the *duḥkha* is stopped it is *śānti*, (c) to get over the *āsrava* is *pranīta*, (d) the emancipation from the world of transmigration is *niḥsaraṇa*. These lead to the realisation of the four kinds of knowledge.

The realisation of the *mārga-satya* has four aspects: (a) to enter into the meaning of the practice is *mārga*, (b) the right reasoning is *nyāya*, (c) to practise *acintya-jñāna* is *pratipatti*. This leads to the realisation of the three kinds of knowledge.

These fifteen things are called the tendency to the first *phala*. What is the 16th? When there is getting over all existences forever with the help of the *mārga-satya* it is called *nairyānika*. This leads to the realisation of one kind of knowledge. These are the 16 things which constitute the first *phala*.

(ii) *Sakṛdāgāmin*. After the realisation of the four truths and the good practice of the 16 *ākāra* there are 9 *kleśas* which are to be cut in the *prayoga-mārga* of the *Kāmadhātu*. Cutting the first five *kleśas* constitutes the tendency to the state of *sakṛdāgāmin*. When the sixth *kleśa* is cut it is *sakṛdāgāmin-phala*.

(iii) *Anāgāmi-phala*. Subsequently when one comes to the *Kāmadhātu* there is only one birth. The following three *kleśas* are cut in the only birth in the *Kāmadhātu*. After the realisation and practice there is the cutting of the 7th and 8th *kleśas*. Cutting of these *kleśas* constitute the tendency to *anāgāmin-phala*. When the 9th is cut it is the *anāgāmin-phala*.

(iv) *Arhan-phala*. When all the *kleśas* of the *Kāmadhātu* are cut there is surely no coming back to the *Kāmadhātu* for rebirth. There is then the realisation of the higher *dhātu* with the character of all the *bhūmis*. After practising well the four *dhyanas* and the four *ārūpyas* the nine *kleśas* of each of the four are cut.

The first *samādhi* is one that is the beginning. The cutting of the eight things of the *mūrdhvan* is the end. It is the tendency

towards Arhan-phala. The cutting of the ninth is the Arhan-phala.

What is Arhan? One who destroys completely the kleśas of the three dhātus is Arhan.

The Sūtra says: There are 8 bhūmis—*śukla-vidarśana* and others. The *sambhāra-mārga* of the Śrāvakas is *Śuklavidarśana-bhūmi*. In this bhūmi the *kāma*, *rāga* etc. are dried and the indriyas and the viśayas have no associates. This practice of the kuśala is called *śukla-vidarśana-bhūmi*.

Gotra-bhūmi—the prayoga-mārga certainly does not make one Buddha but it is sure to produce the gotra of Śrāvaka and Pratyeka-Buddha. This is called Gotra-bhūmi.

Aṣṭamaka-bhūmi—From the tendency of the first phala up to the Arhan it is called Aṣṭamaka-bhūmi.

Darśana-bhūmi—While staying in the first bhūmi the aspects of the four truths are realised. Hence it is called Darśana-bhūmi.

Tanu-bhūmi. It is the sakṛdāgāmin-phala. As it cuts most parts of the kleśas of the Kāmadhātu it is called Tanubhūmi.

Vitarāgabhūmi It is the anāgāmin-phala. As it removes the dveṣa and rāga of the Kāmadhātu it is called Vitarāgabhūmi.

Kṛtāvibhūmi. It is the Arhan-phala. As it brings the knowledge of duḥkha, cuts the samudaya leads to the attainment of nirodha and the practice of the mārga, it is called Kṛtāvi-bhūmi.

Śrāvaka-bhūmi the three bhūmis—Sakṛdāgāmin, Anāgāmin and Arhan are called the Śrāvaka-bhūmi.

Pratyeka-Buddha-bhūmi. The 37 bodhi-pākṣika dharmas have been described above. When a man wants to get Bodhi for himself and for that produces the mind to practise for hundred great kalpas and in the last body is born in a world without Buddha, he attains Pratyeka-bodhi as he is not benefited by the teachings of a Buddha. Pratyekabodhi is of two kinds: *khaḍgaviśāṇa* and *nikāya-svabhāga*. The first is to remain alone and to practise the noble merits. The second is to stay in the community.

What is knowledge—*jñāna*? Knowledge is of two kinds: (i) *Sarvajñāna*, (ii) *Samyak-jñāna*. The sarva-jñāna is that which helps us to understand the *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana*, *hetuphala*, and the *kāya-svabhāva*. Hence it is called sarva-jñāna. The samyak-jñāna is that which helps us to understand the *anitya* and other dharmas concerning the four Aryan truths.

What is *prahāna*? It is of two kinds: (i) *kleśāvaraṇa* and

(ii) *jñeyāvaraṇa*. The *kleśāvaraṇa-prahāna* is hitting the *mūlukleśas* like *rūpa* etc. and the *upakleśas*. The *jñeyāvaraṇa-prahāna* is hitting the *āvaraṇa* which is the dharma of the ignorance of *svabhāva*, so that it may be cut.

What is *parārtha*? *Parārtha* is of two kinds: (i) to keep *vimokṣa* in store for all beings so that they may give up the *viruddha* and (ii) to keep in store the *śaḍgati* for all beings so that they may give up the evil and live in the *kuśala*. The *mahā-karuṇā* and *punya* will be described later.

All Āryas speak of merits which are of eleven kinds: (i) *nirdvandva*, (ii) *praṇidhi-jñāna*, (iii) *catūrh-pratisamvid*, (iv) *śaḍabhijñā*, (v) *catvāri dhyānāni*, (vi) *catvāri ārūpyāni*, (vii) *catvāri apramāna*, (viii) *aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*, (ix) *daśa kṛtsnāyūtanāni* (x) *aṣṭau abhibhvāyūtanāni* and (xi) *tri samādhi*.

The first, *nirdvandva*, depends on the fourth dhyānacitta-consisting of the vow that all beings, objects etc. do not produce *kleśa* because of the body and may direct their minds to *samādhi*. Hence it is called *nirdvandva*.

The second, *praṇidhi-jñāna*, depends on the 4th dhyāna-citta, is led by the previous vow, arouses the *tathatā-jñāna* according to the vow. Hence it is called *praṇidhi-jñāna*.

The third, *pratisamvid* is of four kinds: (i) the *dharma-pratisamvid*—is to know all dharmas. (ii) *artha*—is to know exactly the meaning. (iii) *nirukti*—is to know exactly the words and (iv) *pratibhāna*—is to know exactly the right reason.

The fourth—*śaḍabhijñā* (i) *ṛddhi-vidhi-abhijñā*—such as passing through a stone wall (ii) *divyaṃ*—hearing various sounds near and distant (iii) *divyaṃ cakṣu*—to see all forms, however distant or small through all obstructions, (iv) *parasya cetah paryāya jñāna*—to know whether other minds are free from desire or not, (v) *pūrva-nivāsānusmṛti*—to know the former lives of himself and others, (vi) *āsrava-kṣaya-jñāna*—knowing all the dharmas, *laukika* and *lokottara*, and following the *mārga* completely. The first five have *āsrava* and depend on the fourth dhyāna but the sixth which has no *āsrava* depends on the 9th dhyāna.

The fifth *catvāri dhyānāni*: the first consists of five things: *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *prīti*, *sukha* and *samādhi*. The second dhyāna consists of *adhyātma-samprasāda*, *muditā*, *harṣa* and *samādhi*. The third dhyāna consists of five things *upekṣā*, *samyak-smṛti*, *samyak-saṅkalpa*, *vedanā-harṣa* and *samādhi*. The fourth dhyāna consists

of four things *upekṣā-pariśuddhi*, *smṛti-pariśuddhi*, *aduḥkha-sukha-vedanā* and *samādhi*.

The sixth—*catvāri ārūpyāni*. At the time of practising yoga there are thoughts of *ākāśānantya āyatana*, *viññānānantya*, and *ākīṃcanya āyatana* and at the time of the *samyak-samādhi* one depends on the four skandhas but not on the rūpa-skandha. The fourth is called *asañjñi*. It is so called as the *sañjñā* is not clear there and the *avidyā* dominates. So it has no *sañjñā-nāma*. The *sañjñā* is very weak there, so it is called *naiva-asañjñā*. Gradually in the same way there are *ākāśānantya* and *viññānānantya* and *ākīṃcanya*. These are the four *ārūpyas*. If the *nirodha-samāpatti* is added to them, there would be nine *samāpattis*.

The seventh—*catvāri apramāṇas* are respectively *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*. The first two are *adveṣa*, *muditā* is the feeling of gladness and *upekṣā* is *alobha*. The corresponding *viśayas* are the *dveṣa* and *vihiṃsā* of the beings of the *Kāmadhātu*. They also can hit and destroy the *chanda*, *dveṣa*, *lobha* etc.

The eighth—the eight *vimokṣas* which depend on the two *dhyānas* are the following :

(i) *adhyātmaṃ rūpasañjñi bahirdhā rūpaṃ paśyati-vimokṣa*, its nature is *aśubha-bhāvanā* which develops its *vinīlakādi-sañjñā*. This is *rūpi rūpāni paśyati*.

(ii) *adhyātmam arūpasañjñi bahirdhā rūpāni paśyati-vimokṣa*.

The next three depend on the latter *dhyānas*. The third is—*śubham vimokṣam kāyena sāksāt-kṛtvopasampadya viharati vimokṣa*—He sees all the *rūpas* becoming pure light colour.

These are the three kinds of *vimokṣas*. The four *ārūpya-samādhis* constitute the next four *vimokṣas*. The *samādhi* that destroys *vedanā* and *sañjñā* constitute the eighth *vimokṣa*. It depends on *bhāvāgra*. The Āryas render negligible the *vedanā* and *sañjñā* and by means of *vyūpaśamaḥ samādhi* destroy the *citta* and the *caitta*. Hence it is called *nirodha-samāpatti*.

The ninth—*daśa kṛtsnāyatanāni*—they are so called as all objects are included in them such as earth, water, fire, wind, blue, yellow, red, white and the two *ānantyāyatanas* of *ākāśa* and *jñāna*. It relates to the fourth *dhyāna* and has for object the desire to see the *rūpas*. The *āyatanas*, earth etc. are all included and nothing is excluded. Among the ten the first eight are based on *alobha* and the last two on the two *ārūpyas*, *ākāśa* and *viññāna*. Such is their nature.

The tenth—*aṣṭau abhibhvāyatanāni*—

- (i) *adhyātmaṃ rūpaśaṃjñī bahirdhā rūpaṃ paśyati alpaṃ*
- (ii) *adhyātmaṃ rūpaśaṃjñī bahirdhā rūpaṃ paśyati bahūṃ*
- (iii) *adhyātmaṃ arūpaśaṃjñī bahirdhā rūpaṃ paśyati alpaṃ*
- (iv) *adhyātmaṃ arūpaśaṃjñī bahirdhā rūpaṃ paśyati bahūṃ*

Adhyātmaṃ arūpaśaṃjñī bahirdhā rūpāni paśyati—*nīlapita-lohitāvadātāni* constitute the next four which with the former ones make altogether eight. Amongst the eight the first two are like the first *vimokṣa*. The second two are like the next *vimokṣa*. The latter four are like the third *vimokṣa*. What are the differences between the eight *abhibhvāyatanas* and the three *vimokṣas*. It is said in reply that the practice of the *vimokṣas* leads to the removal of *ālambanas* whereas that of the *abhibhvāyatanas* leads to a domination over them. The *ālambanas* then do not arise according to will. By practising *vimokṣa* etc. one can : (i) further destroy and remove the *anusaya* and (ii) obtain the *vibhūtvā* through *samādhi*. This produces the merits of *nīrdvandva* etc. and superior *ṛddhi* by which all objects may be transformed. This also brings about various *upaniṣads* such as retention and abandonment.

The eleventh—three *samādhis*. These are the *śūnyatā-samādhi*, *animitta*—and *apranihita*. The *śūnyatā*—has two aspects, *śūnyatā* and *nairātmya*. It is *yoga-samādhi*. The *animitta samādhi* is connected with the four aspects of *nirodha-satya*. It is also *yoga-samādhi*. As *nirvāṇa* is *animitta* it is devoid of ten kinds of *lakṣaṇas*. So it is called *alakṣaṇa*. One can get through it the *samādhi* and the name of *alakṣaṇa*.

The *Apranihita-samādhi* has ten aspects of the other three truths. It is *yoga-samādhi*. The cause of *anitya* and *duḥkha* which is to be discussed and consequently the *mārga* which is like a boat must certainly be abandoned (when the shore is reached). That is why it produces a *samādhi* which gets the name of *apranihita*. All may cross over by this and appear just in front of the goal. Hence these are merits which produce *vimokṣa* and so they are common to the Arhats, Pratyeka-Buddhas and Tathāgatas. So they are called common merits. The *prajñā-vimokṣa* does not possess the three *samādhis* and the four *apramāṇas*.

The *āveṇika dharmas* of the Tathāgata. The proper merits (*āveṇika dharmas*) of the Tathāgata are of 18 kinds—10 *balas*, 4 *vaiśāradyas*, 3 *smṛtyupasthānas* and 1 *mahākaruṇā*.

I. *The Ten balas are :*

- (i) *sthānāsthāna-jñāna*
- (ii) *karma-vipāka-jñāna*
- (iii) *dharma-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti-jñāna*
- (iv) *indriya-parāpara-jñāna-bala*
- (v) *nānādhimukti-jñāna*
- (vi) *nānādhātu-jñāna*
- (vii) *sarvatra-gāmini-pratipajjñāna-bala*
- (viii) *pūrvanivāsa-jñāna*
- (ix) *jāti-maraṇa-jñāna*
- (x) *āśravakṣaya-jñāna-bala*

II. *The four vaiśāradyas :*

- (i) *abhisambodhi*
- (ii) *āśravakṣaya*
- (iii) *vyākaraṇa*
- (iv) *mārga-deśanā*

These are the powers of *jñāna* and not fearing others.

The three Smṛtyupasthānas. When the Tathāgata speaks the law, if all his disciples unanimously and respectfully receive his teachings but the Tathāgata does not express any joy; he is indifferent and remains peaceful in his complete memory and conscience. This is the first *smṛtyupasthāna* of the Tathāgata. When the disciples do not respectfully receive the teaching the Tathāgata does not express any dissatisfaction; he is indifferent in his complete memory and conscience. It is the second *smṛtyupasthāna* of the Tathāgata. When among his disciples some respectfully receive his teachings and some are without respect and do not accept his teachings but the Tathāgata does not express any satisfaction or dissatisfaction, remains indifferent, established in complete memory and conscience. This is the third *smṛtyupasthāna* of the Tathāgata. These three have *smṛtiprajñā* as their essence and hence they are called *smṛtyupasthāna*.

Mahākaruṇā. In all the worlds during six periods of the day and the night he observes who has suffering, who has joy, who requires appeasing and who requires to be benefited. Hence it is called *Mahākaruṇā*. The 18 āveṇika dharmas and the 3 āraṁśyas of the Thathāgata are spoken of in the *Mahāyāna*. These are not heard of in the *Śrāvakayāna*.

Asaṁskṛta-dharmas. The asaṁskṛta-dharmas are of three kinds

(i) *ākāśa*, (ii) *pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* and (iii) *apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*. The *ākāśa-asamṣkṛta* has *anāgāmitva* as its nature. All places have then no obstruction and hence it is called *ākāśa-asamṣkṛta*. The *rūpa* moves there. When other things have doors, windows, holes, brightness, darkness, the *ākāśa* has no such limitation.

Pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha. It is the *anāsrava-jñāna* that destroys all *āvaraṇa* and colour. It is the truth as revealed by the two *mārgas darśana* and *bhāvanā*. So it is called *pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*. The third—*apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*—it can prevent the production of the *anāgata-dharmas* for ever. It brings about *nirodha* different from the previous ones. Hence the name *apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*, not because of the *pratisaṃkhyā* but because it has no *ālambana*. There are the three *asaṃskṛtas*. The Sarvāstivāda consider them as real things. The Sautrāntika says that there is no function and ask: Is not *tathatā asaṃskṛta*? The answer is: it is *nairātmya*. The Śrāvakayāna does not speak of *dharma-nairātmya*. Then what about *pudgala-nairātmya*? It means the 16 *ākāra*, *anītya* etc. The *ākāras* of the three *satyas* are the *saṃskṛtas*. The *ākāras* of *nirodha-satya* are the *pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* and not other dharmas. *Bhājana*, *sattva*, *mārga*, *phala*, and *asaṃskṛta*, these are the 5 kinds, which we know. Hence the law of the Sattva- and Bhājana-lokas consist of the two truths: *duḥkha* and *samudaya*. The *mārga-dharma* and *mārga-satya* are the *mārga-satya* and the *pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha* and *asaṃskṛta* are *nirodha-satya*. *Ākāśa* and *apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*, the two kinds of *asaṃskṛtas* are not included in the four truths. The *duḥkha* and *samudaya-satyas* are *āsrava-dharmas* whereas the *mārga*- and *nirodha-satyas* are *anāsrava dharmas*. So far the *laukika* and *lokottara saṃskṛta* and *asaṃskṛta dharmas* as known to me.

P. C. BAGCHI

Southern India and China

The Early Routes

The ancient routes taken by the Indians to China and by the Chinese to India are still a matter of speculation. Still more mysterious is the fixing up of the first contact of the Chinese and the Indians. Some good work has been done about the history of the contact between India and China from early times (see, for example, Dr. P. C. Bagchi's *India and China*, Calcutta, 1945). The French scholars, to mention only two, P. Pelliot and E. Chavannes have done much to unravel the Sino-Indian cultural contact. Collating the material supplied by these scholars who have done admirable research in this direction, we have to conclude that there were both land routes and sea routes to China. Among the overland routes one was the Central Asian route through which Indian Buddhist missionaries had travelled to the land of China. According to one tradition the Buddhist missionaries were seen at the Chinese capital about 217 B. C. Another land route lay through Assam and Burma and this led to the south-west part of China. This is said to have been popular about the second century before Christ. Yet another route was opened according to the Sinologists in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., and this was through Tibet. These various routes were used largely by the missionaries and traders of North India. Therefore they do not interest us for the present.

What is of importance to a study of the contact of Southern India and China is the route overseas. The South Indian contact with China was chiefly through the sea. This was made easy and possible because of the colonisation of the Far East by the Indians from some centuries before the Christian Era. It is probable that the first contact was much earlier than we seem to imagine. Funan, Campā, Sṛi Vijaya were some of the kingdoms established in the Far East not by the might of the sword but by the magic of religion and commerce. The Chinese historians themselves aver that it was one South Indian Brahman, Kaunḍinya by name, that first colonised Funan and this happened in the first century

of the Christian Era. We have no tangible evidence for any movements prior to this event, though one can imagine that such a movement was possible. Parts of Cambodia and Siam were included in the kingdom of Funan. In the next century the Indians were more enterprising and they occupied the land of Campā which soon shot into an important kingdom of the Far East. It may be pointed out that the northern limits of the kingdom of Campā touched the frontier of the Chinese empire of which Tonkin was a province. Tonkin was one of the flourishing ports of ancient China. The sea route from India to China generally ended with Tonkin. Tonkin continued to maintain its importance for several centuries. But at the commencement of the seventh century, with the rise of Canton as the principal port of China, Tonkin ceased to be an active port of call for vessels from India and other places. What is of further importance to the subject on hand is that our contact and colonisation of Cambodia and Campā dragged us on to China, because both Cambodia and Campā were in direct touch with China politically and commercially. This fact made it possible for the South Indian colonisers to extend their trade and religious activities to the various parts of the Chinese empire.

It may also be mentioned in this connection that Yavadvīpa (modern Java) and Śrī Vijaya (the territory covering the east coast of Sumatra) were other kindoms of Indian colonisation. The Indian people who went to China had necessarily to halt at them and then continue their journey. Students of Indian History know that the Chinese traveller Fa Hien, who visited India at the commencement of the fifth century A.D., sailed back to his country from India through Java. More than a century later, another Chinese pilgrim by name Yi-tsing on his way to India halted at Śrī Vijaya for about six months and then continued his journey. This happened in the second half of the seventh century A.D. These two instances are enough to prove the importance of Java and Sumatra in the early centuries of the Christian Era. It was about Yi-tsing's time the hold which China had over Central Asia was lost. This particular circumstance made the sea route to China all the more important. Vessels from the ports on the west coast and the east coast of Indian Peninsula bound to China often took the sea route. On the west coast the principal ports were Quilon, Monte de Ely, and Calicut.

On the side of the Bay of Bengal, among other ports, Puhar or Kāveripattanam, at the mouth of the river Kāveri near the present Mayavaram in Tanjore District was an active trade centre. Equally active was Tamruk at the Ganges, so far as the Far East was concerned. Among port of disembarkation Siūhapura (the modern Singapore) should be mentioned. According to Ibn Khurdadhbeg, Bullin (also Baliq) was an important station connecting the east and west coasts of the Indian Peninsula. Travellers to China via Ceylon (Sarandib) used Bullin as the starting station. Dr. Barnett identified Bullin with Baliapatam in Chirakkal Taluq, Malabar District. The vessels bound for China halted at a number of islands in the Indies until they reached Campā. From there Luqin, the first station in China, was reached (quoted in S. M. H. Nainar's *Arab Geographers*, pp 30-31). While Indian vessels, and ships from other countries, were busily engaged in trade and commerce with China exporting their own goods and importing Chinese goods to their countries, it is said that China owned no ships of her own and entirely depended on foreign vessels for transport. China began to have ships of her own centuries after her contact with India. These were huge vessels known by the name Junks. Marco Polo describes them as mountains sailing on the sea.

In the early centuries of the Christian Era there was brisk international trade carried on in the south seas. The southern dynasties at Nanking were in active communication with Ceylon, South India, Indo-China and other countries. Up to the time of Mahomet the entire ocean trade with the Far East and China was the monopoly of India. Arabs who were known to the Chinese for the first time in 628 A.D. and who navigated the Indian ocean adventurously established factories not only on the Malabar coast but also at Canton and other Chinese ports. The reports of the Arab merchant Suleiman and of the Arab geographer Abu Seid of the 9th and 10th centuries respectively testify to a lively international traffic in the Indian Ocean. Chinese accounts of the period speak of foreign ships at Canton with capacity of 1000 *bharams* (each *bharam* equal to a quarter of a ton.) Surely *Bharam* is a Tamil word and suggests South Indian vessels prominently noticed in Canton (E. H. Parker, *China*, Ch. III).

On the name China

China is known in Indian literature as Cīna. The *Mahābhārata*

uses this term in its reference to China. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya (fourth century B. C.) mentions *Cinabhūmi* and *Cinapaṭṭa*. It is generally taken for granted that the name China is derived from name of the Ts'in dynasty (255-106 B. C.). According to the Chinese annals, which have been accepted as portraying exact chronology, the Ts'in dynasty began to rule only from 247 B. C. If China is derived from Ts'in as the French Sinologist P. Pelliot would have it, then the reference in the *Arthaśāstra* and even the epic may refer to another country. I agree with the late Jayaswal that the term Cīna in early Indian literature may be a reference to Shina, of the Gilgit tribe, also famous for silk manufacture in those days.

According to the Tondamandala Pattayam, a comparatively modern work, the Chinese are classed together with the Tirayar tribes who settled in Tondaimandalam, which is the present Coromandel coast. By the expression Tirayar, we are to understand that they were a sea-faring people engaged in overseas trade. Though we cannot attach much importance to the testimony of Tondamandala Pattayam, still the mention of Chinese Tirayar is an evidence of the contact of South India with China. This is further corroborated by a Chinese writer, Pan Kou who flourished in the first century A.D. He says in his *Ts'ien han shu* that it takes a year by boat from the coast of Indo-China to reach Houang-teh which has been identified with good reason with Kanchi by Ferrand. Speaking of the kingdom of Kanchi, it is said that the land was extensive, populous and full of strange products. It is further stated that from the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B. C.) trade relations with this kingdom were pretty frequent. It is reasonable therefore, to conclude with Dr. B. Laufer that India had contact with China, much earlier than the Ts'in dynasty (K. A. N. Sastri's *Foreign notices of South India*, pp. 44-5).

Trade Relations

We have already noticed on the authority of Pan Kou that in the second century B. C., if not earlier, there was intercourse between Southern India and China. It was purely commercial. The Chinese traders visited Kanchi (Conjeevaram) and with the help of the local men they went by sea and bought pearls, glass, rare stones, and other products not available in China and in exchange they supplied gold and silks. It has been stated that large pearls measured up to seven inches. Perhaps this is an exaggeration. The same Chinese

authority avers that the Chinese were so anxious to procure products of Southern India and of the Indian Ocean that a special Chinese mission was sent out to explore the entire Indian Ocean.

For the next five centuries we have no documentary evidence as to the trade relations. But as Parker says, 'there is every reason to believe that a brisk trade went without interruption as before.' At least the southern dynasties continued to keep up their traffic with Ceylon, South India and Indo-China. Ma-Twan-Lin, a Chinese historian depicts a picture of Southern India in the second half of the sixth century. Apart from the social life of the people which is in itself interesting, there is mention of South India's brisk trade not only with China and the Far East but also with Rome and other western countries. Coral necklaces, conches, and perhaps pearls were largely in demand. Teeth possibly of elephants and rhinoceroses and shells were other commodities. There were account books supplying information about commercial transactions. But it is said that they generally dispensed with them. Mostly transactions were conducted by the system of barter (J.A.S.B., VI, pp. 66-7).

Later in the Pallava period, there were trade relations. As many as twenty Chinese coins, all of copper with different weights ranging from 1.86 grammes to 7.640 have been discovered in 1942 at Vikraman village, Pattukottai taluq, Tanjore district. Among them three coins belong to the T'ang period and are of the K'aiyuan period (713-742). This is a proof of the continuity of commercial relations (P. C. Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol I, pp. 60-63). The Chinese emperors were fascinated by the products of Southern India which came off and on as presents and tributes. So we hear of a Chinese priest Kien-Tchen by name (742-54) describing Canton. In this town there were peoples of different countries—Persians, Malays, Ceylonese, Arabs etc., engaged in active commerce. Among them were merchants from India also. "They were all laden with incense, herbs, jewels and other precious products. The merchandise was piled up in heaps. These ships were 60 to 70 feet deep." (J. Takakusu in B.E.F.F.O., 28-29, p. 466).

The overseas trade of the great Cholas like Rājarāja and Rājendra was not only with countries of the Far East but also with China. Though we have no tangible evidence as to the number of times and the duration of each mercantile venture undertaken during the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, still there is no doubt that the old trade

traditions were maintained in tact, and the curios of both countries were being exchanged by barter. Among the Tanjore coins recently discovered there are seventeen Chinese coins which represent practically the entire Song period. (960-1279) (See Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. I, pp. 60-63). Again, when Chau-Ju-Kua wrote his celebrated book the *Chu fan che* about the commencement of the 13th century, it is seen that the Chinese sailors were fully acquainted with the Chola dominions (Ibid.) Luckily again for us we have Wassaf's evidence that "Ma'bar extends in length from Kulam (Quilon) to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs along the sea-cost,.....The curiosities of Chin and Machin, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water, are always arriving here." It is interesting to note that Wassaf calls Ma'bar the Key of Hind (El'iot and Dowson, III, p. 32). Marco Polo adds that this region is noted for pearl fishery.

It is evident that Marco Polo visited Tanjore and Kāveripaṭṭanam, the Fattan of Muhammadan writers.* This foreign observer tells us of the trade of the ports of the Coromandel with China. That the Tanjore ports were frequented by the Chinese Junks and traders in the 13th century is corroborated by a pagoda of uncemented brickwork about a mile to the north-west of Negapatam known as the Chinese pagoda. The structure of the building has no resemblance to the Chinese structure of architecture. It is primarily Indian in style. There is a tradition that it was erected in honour of some distinguished Chinese visitors. The view that it was a tower of the Jaina faith may be negatived by the fact that Negapatam was known all along as a seat of Buddhist faith. No other clue exists to determine the exact nature of this monument. There are no inscriptions or even a sculpture of value to the historian.

The tradition that this monument was a result of the presence of the Chinese commercial magnates in the city is confirmed by the statements of Baldaeus (1672) and Valentyn (1726). This tradition persisted upto the eighteenth century. Among the coins found in several places like Mahabalipuram on this coast were also a hoard of Chinese coins (J.R.A.S. 1. p. 352 n. and p. 353). On the basis of these

* According to Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, Fattan may stand for Kilakkarai in the Ramnad District.

evidences, we may not be far from the right if we credit this tradition with some trustworthiness. To make a long story short, this ancient edifice became so dilapidated that it was pulled down completely in 1859 (See Marco Polo, Notes and addenda by Henry Cordier, 1920, pp. 113-4). We have also some details of the trade relations with different places in Southern India at the time of Marco Polo. One of them is the city of Cail (Kayal), one of the ancient capitals of the Pandyas, known to the Greek merchants by name Korkai or Kolkhoi. That it was in active intercourse with China is borne out from what Dr. Caldwell has to say on the subject. "The whole plain is covered with broken tiles and remnants of pottery, chiefly of China manufacture.....The people of the place have forgotten the existence of any trade between Kayal and China, though the Chinapotttery that lies all about testifies to its existence at some former period." Perhaps its trade with China declined in course of time while it retained until recent times its contact with Arabia and Persia.

Quilon continued to maintain its age-long relations, both diplomatic and commercial. This is testified to us by Marco Polo and also Ibn Battuta (1333-45 A.D.). The latter visited a number of ports of Malabar including Quilon and Calicut. Calicut is described by Ibn Battuta (H.A.R. Gibb, pp. 234-9) as one of the largest harbours in the world, frequented for trade among others by the people of China. Spring was the proper season for voyage to China. According to him all communications to this country were disposed of in Chinese vessels which were of three classes, the biggest called Junk, the medium Zus and the small Kakam. Hili was another port of Malabar with which China had trade relations. The ships leaving Calicut were to touch Quilon. Ibn Battuta calls this one of the finest cities of Malabar with great bazaars and rich merchants. Among them there were a good number of Chinese. Quilon was located in the midst of the pepper country. Though pepper and other spices were continuously in demand from Europe and China, for several centuries together, there was a gradual decline in that trade by the fourteenth century, especially from China.

Hili, a port of Malabar has been already mentioned. Marco Polo speaks of the kingdom of Eli. It is said to be a well built city situated on a large estuary accessible by great ships. Both Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta state that the Chinese vessels frequented this port. This is probably Monte de Ely, the Yelimala

of Malabar (*Marco Polo* ed. by Yule, III Ch. XXIV). Thus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these three ports of Malabar were in frequent touch with China. The vessels of China came to these places, halted for winter, purchased large quantities of goods and commodities which were rare in China and returned just about the commencement of the Spring season. During the winter these vessels generally lay at anchor in Fandaraina, a place about sixteen miles north of Calicut.

Fei Hsin 1436 A.D., gives a list of articles in which trade was carried on. These are gold, silver, coloured satins, blue and white porcelain, beads, musk, quick-silver and camphor. Fifteen years later Ma Huan, a Muhammadan Chinaman who was attached as Interpreter to the suite of Cheng Ho, visited Southern India and other places in the Eastern seas. He informs us that when a ship arrives from China at Calicut, the king's overseer and a Chitti (modern Chetty) go on board and make an invoice of the goods. A day is generally fixed for estimating the value of the cargo. On that day the silk goods are first inspected and valued. As soon as this is over, those present join hands when the broker says 'the price of your goods is now fixed, and cannot in any way be altered'. Then comes the Weinaki broker who is Chetty Weinaki. He fixes the price for pearls and precious stones. In this way the exchange is effected. All reckoning were made without an abacus but with the aid of toes and fingers and still indisputably correct (J.R.A.S. 1896) pp. 345-8: T'oung Pao, XVI, pp. 455-60). It may be mentioned in passing that it was Chettys who conducted trading transactions on behalf of the king ashore and afloat.

This first rate trade of China with Malabar seems to have come to an end by the fifteenth century. The reasons are not definitely known. But there is an allusion to this in the information forwarded by Joseph of Cranganore in the *Novus Orbis* (ed. of 1555, p. 208 quoted by Yule). Here the Chinese are called people of Cathay, one of the old names of China. It is said that the king of Calicut treated them badly so that they had to quit the country. But shortly after they returned in large numbers and after inflicting a great slaughter on the people of Calicut, left the place for ever. After several centuries of close contact, and settlements, it would not have been possible for China to withdraw root and branch from Malabar. In fact Abdur Razzak states that generally

the seafaring population of Calicut were nicknamed Chinibachagan 'China boys' (*India in XV century*, p. 19). Another authority tells us that several descendants of the old Chinese settlers who made Calicut their home did not feel called upon to leave Indian shores for the distant China. And in the course of a hundred years they became gradually extinct. But 'their sumptuous idol temples' remained to mark their early settlements. This tradition is narrated to us in Gaspar Correa's account of Voyages of Da Gama. But how far it is based on facts cannot be determined with satisfaction. But there is a statement in a paper in the famous collection of the Mackenzie Mss. that down to time of Colonel Mackenzie there was a tribe in Calicut whose ancestors were believed to have been Chinese (Taylor's *Catalogue*, III, pp. 664-5). If we take these different statements culled out from independent sources into consideration, there is reason to believe that the Chinese connection was in vogue in some form or other in Malabar. If we can believe the record of P. Paolino, to the effect that Chinese vessels frequented the ports of Travancore for pepper in the last century, then it is legitimate to suppose of some revival of Chinese trade in the west coast of Peninsular India. (*Marco Polo*, ed. by Yule).

It may be true that China's active trade with Malabar ceased by the end of the fifteenth century. This did not mean that China withdrew all her trade relations from Southern India. From another statement in *Novus Orbis*, we are told that China turned her activities again to the Coromandel Coast. It is stated that 'after that they began to frequent Mailapetam, a city subject to the king of Narsingha, a region towards the east.....and there they now drive their trade.' This is further corroborated from another quarter (*Mendoza*, Parker's Translation p. 71). All this shows that there was busy trade between China and the Vijayanagar kingdom. (See Yule, *op. cit.* II, pp. 391-92).

With the arrival of Europeans like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English and later on of Russia and the United States, trade developments in China took entirely a new turn and this explains the comparative decline of her trade with India and specially Southern India. But we conclude this section with the remarks of E. H. Parker who says: "With one or two exceptions the beaten tracks are exactly the same now as they were 2000 years ago, both by land and by sea. The marts, with similar rare exceptions, are either the

old marts, or are near them, or have a special traceable reason for their modified existence". (p. 85).

Diplomatic Relations

From the very commencement of the Christian era, (1-6 A.D.) we have the unquestionable evidence of Pan Kou to show that the envoys of Wang Mang came to Kanchi with costly presents to the king of the land and told the latter that it was the desire of Wang Mang that he should send in return an embassy to China with a live rhinoceros as tribute. Thus we see even from the initial years of the Christian era that there were political embassies from and to China. At this period of South Indian history it may be remembered that the kingdom of Kanchi was a part of the great Chola country.

The exchange of embassies and ambassadors have been going on through the early centuries between the Chinese kings and the Indian monarchs. This is evident from the Chinese accounts of India (*Ind. Ant.* IX, p. 14 ff.) However, we have no tangible evidence as to the nature of the embassies and other details connected for the first four centuries. But it is certain that in the time of Seuen-Woo of the dynasty of the later Wei (A.D. 500-516), South India sent an ambassador to China. Even here we are not in a position to relate which part of South India sent this envoy. All that can be gathered from the extant Chinese accounts is that a certain envoy called on the Chinese king and offered as presents some fine horses. This ambassador seems to have impressed the Chinese king of the fact that his kingdom was rich in wild animals like lions, leopards, panthers and rhinoceroses. Special mention is also made of a variety of yellowish red pearls in South India, which, if divided disperse like the wings of the cricket and if heaped up become compact like strongly woven threads of silk. There were again diamonds, which if purified a hundred times in the fire could cut jasper. Mention is also made of abundant odorous plants and fine muslins embroidered with gold and silver. Honey, pepper and ginger are other products in the list of articles given by the envoy. Judging from the variety of products referred to in this account, one may infer that it was the kingdom of Malabar that sent this ambassador to the Chinese court.

A Chinese Legation at Quilon :—There are two statements among Arab writers which go to show that there was a legation of China

in Quilon or *vice versa*. Yāqūt states that 'the inhabitants (of Quilon) choose a king for China when their own king dies'. On the other hand, Qazwīnī says that 'when their king dies the people of the place choose another from China'. (Elliot, I, p. 95) K. P. P. Menon on the authority of Elliot's translation expresses the view in his *History of Kerala* (I, p. 277) that the mention of a choice of a king from China to succeed the deceased incumbent points to a Chinese factory or settlement in Quilon, governed by its own chiefs under the direction of the Chinese Home Government. Considering the volume of trade between South India and China at the time, it is just possible that there was an independent settlement of the Chinese at the important trading centre like Quilon. But if Yāqūt's version were to be believed, then it was the other way about. The people of Quilon had founded a settlement in China, and when their nominee died, it was usual to send his successor from Quilon. Both are possible. Though we cannot definitely say whether there was a Chinese settlement in South India or a South Indian settlement in China, still the fact is that there were such settlements which were managed by a Deputy of the Government. (Dr. Nainar, *op. cit.* p. 46).

The next account of diplomatic relations between South India and China was during the time of the Pallavas of Kanchi. Chinese accounts which are our primary authority on this diplomatic relation differ from one another in detail. According to Ma Twan-Lin, it was about 667 A.D. that the five kingdoms of India sent ambassadors to the court of the Chinese emperor. As per another account it was in the year 692 that the kings of Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern and Central India came to render homage at the court of China. Still another account furnishes us with the information of an embassy from South India in the year 710 in the reign of the emperor Joei-Tsong. This means that the Chinese language has become popular in India. That it was one of the eighteen languages known and spoken in South India is seen from an informing passage in the *Jivakacintamani*, a Tamil classic of the eighth century A.D. (See stanza 93). The names of these eighteen languages are found in the commentary of Mayilai Nathar to Nannul.

There are two important Chinese literary records by name *Kieu T'ang Shu*, and *T's'o fu Yuan Kuei*. The latter is a cyclopædia of about 1013 A.D. which throws further light on the diplomatic negotiations of a certain Pallava monarch who is named She-li

Na Lo-Seng-Kia (Śrī Narasiṃha) and also Sheli-Na-Lo-Seng-Kia Pao-To-Pa-Mo (Śrī Narasiṃha Potavarman). The Chinese accounts aver that this Narasiṃha of Kanchi wanted to punish the Arabs and the Tibetans and his other enemies. Before he actually declared war, he consulted the Chinese emperor who blessed him in his endeavour. It is said that the emperor was so much pleased with the action of Narasiṃha's army and even named it as 'the army that cherished virtue.' If this were a fact—there is no reason to disbelieve it—it shows how intimate and friendly were the relations between China and South India from a political point of view. The Chinese emperor of the time was so powerful and yet so friendly to the king of Kanchi, that the latter often consulted him before taking a decision. In his turn the emperor of China was quite helpful in rendering him the needed assistance.

This was the age when the Arabs had settled in South India in large numbers for purposes of trade. They could have quarrelled with the king who probably interfered with some of their rights and privileges. This was also the period of Tibetan supremacy. At this time, according to the history of Tibet, the Tibetans got a firm control over the whole of Bengal and wielded their power for nearly two hundred years, when the Bay of Bengal was virtually named the Sea of Tibet. It is but natural that this newly acquired right on the part of Tibet over the Bay of Bengal incensed a good deal the Pallava king of Kanchi and provoked him to open hostilities with the Tibetans on the one hand and the Arabs on the other.

Such diplomatic relations were conducted largely and successfully by sending qualified and able ambassadors. These went to the court of China and stayed there as state guests, enjoying the full confidence and splendid hospitality of the emperor. That the ambassador of South India was treated generously and courteously as befitted his status is seen from the Chinese accounts. It is said that a decree was promulgated that this South Indian ambassador should be looked after with the greatest care till his departure. His personal comforts and needs should be attended to, so that on his return he would feel that he had been honourably treated. It was a custom prevalent in those days to present the ambassador with royal honours when he was about to return. In the case of this ambassador, we are told that the Chinese emperor was pleased to present him with a robe of flowered silk, a gold girdle, a purse

containing an emblem in the form of a fish, and the seven objects. We are not in a position to say what these seven objects were. Such a kindly treatment of an envoy is worthy of the Chinese emperor.

A few months after, the Chinese accounts continue, the emperor of China was so pleased with his friend and ally in South India, the great Narasimha Potavarman that he cherished the desire of conferring on him a title of distinction and rank. With this object in view, the Chinese emperor sent an ambassador from China to Kanchi as his representative to confer the title of 'King of the Kingdom of South India' on Narasimha Potavarman. This was a recognition coming as it did from a far-off emperor. In between, the Chinese texts inform us that the Pallava king Narasimha wanted to exhibit his heart-felt gratitude to the Chinese emperor in a tangible manner. He erected a magnificent temple in honour of China. He wrote to the emperor that he would be pleased if he named this temple and sent an epigraph to that effect. The emperor responded to the wish of the Pallava monarch and named it 'that causes return to virtue' (Koei-hoa-se). A tablet with this inscription was sent to Narasimha who ordered it to be placed in front of that temple.

Collating all these pieces of information culled from different Chinese texts, we are led to conclude that the relation between the Pallavas and the Chinese court were very cordial both in the latter half of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth century A.D. They were more than allies in their relations. Each respected the other. In this series of embassies of 667, 692, 710 and 720 one of the Pallava monarchs is mentioned by name and he is Narasimha Potavarman. He is said to have flourished about 720 A.D. If we turn to the pages of Pallava history we find one Narasimhavarman II alias Rajasimha ruling circa 680-700 A.D. He was an enthusiastic builder of temples. Among others the Kailāśa-nātha temple at Kanchi and the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram are attributed to him. He was also a great patron of literature. He was succeeded by Paramēśvaravarman II who reigned only for ten years 700-710 A.D. Immediately after this there was some dynastic revolution and the throne passed on to Nandivarman II. Some inscriptions mention one Hiranyavarman. According to the late Krishna Sastri this Hiranyavarman was the son of Nandivarman II, also named Dantivarman. According to this calculation the

Pallava king referred to in the Chinese accounts as ruling in 720 A.D. should be Nandivarman II Pallavamalla who seems to have enjoyed a long reign of 65 years from 710-775 A.D. That this king was also known by the other name Nandipotavarman is borne out by the Kendur plates of Vikramāditya II (733-46) who invaded Kanchi then ruled by Nandipotavarman. From this it appears that the Pallava monarch referred to in the Chinese texts should be Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.

The next landmark is reached in the epoch of the Cholas. The Chinese annals especially *Chau Ju-Kua* record three embassies sent during different periods by the Chola monarchs. One was during the reign of Rājarāja I in the year 1015. Though Rājarāja's reign ended in 1014 it is reasonable to accept that the embassy started when the king was alive and reached China in 1015. The delay is explained as the route lay through the Malay region. The next embassy was sent by Rājendra I and this was in the year 1033 A.D. The most notable embassy was during the period of Kulottuṅga Chola Deva or Kulottuṅga I in 1077 A.D. A detailed account of this embassy is furnished and if closely examined all these embassies of the Chola period were more in the nature of trade ventures than of political or diplomatic relations. The Chinese authorities themselves state that China received an embassy from the Chola dominion for the first time. Neither trade relations nor cultural contacts existed before, between China and the Chola kingdom proper. The embassy sent out by Kulottuṅga consisted of as many as seventytwo men. They carried with them as tributes glass, camphor, brocades, rhinoceros' horns, ivory, incense, rose-water, patchuck, borax, cloves etc. In return the embassy received 81,800 strings of copper cash, each to the value of a dollar. One important point to be noted is about the reception these embassies had at the hands of the Chinese. They were given a lower status, at least they were not treated as first class envoys. They were ordered to wait at the palace gate and entertained at a banquet by the associates in the College of Court Annalists. This may be due to the fact that the Chola mission came to the notice of the Chinese emperor for the first time, and the latter ignorant of the wealth and power of the newly risen Cholas might not have attached to them much value and importance. Probably it may be that the embassy was more of the nature of a trade embassy which did not deserve the same treatment as a diplomatic embassy.

Or again, it might have been due to a misrepresentation of facts by the ambassadors of Śrī Vijaya in China.

The Chinese Annals show that some time the Chola power was subordinate to Śrī Vijaya. The envoys of Śrī Vijaya made out to the President of the Council of Rites in China that their king was the sovereign of a great kingdom including that of the Cholas during the years 1068-77. This might have lent the impression that the Cholas were occupying a subordinate position. These causes might have contributed to the rather indifferent treatment meted out to the Chola embassy. The result was that Śrī Vijaya took a rank higher than the Cholas in the political estimate of the Chinese. This continued as a precedent even in 1106 when the envoys from Śrī Vijaya were accorded better treatment and status than the Chola envoys. But actually the Chola kingdom was never subordinate to Śrī Vijaya. On the other hand the conquest and rule of the Cholas over Śrī Vijaya is incontrovertible (See K. A. N. Sastri's *Cholas*, II, pp. 25-6).

The next set of embassies from and to China was in the second half of the 13th century. Though the Sung Dynasty was ruling in China from 960 to 1260, still from 1127 the Sung lost all China north of the Yang-tse. Practically for three hundred years the Peking plain was in Tartar hands. At the commencement of the thirteenth century the Mongols swept over all China and beyond, and carried their arms upto western Europe. In the south, Kublai Khan the Great Mongol, overran Yun Nan and even Burma, Annam and the Shan States between them. He became the Chinese emperor and ruled over a vaster empire than any other Chinese sovereign in earlier times. The early European traveller Marco Polo visited his court. He sent envoys to and received embassies from several countries. Among these figure prominently Ma'bar which meant to him almost all south Indian kingdoms and at least the Coromandel region. At this time in South India the Pāṇḍyan kingdom had been re-established, the Cholas being on the wane. The Pāṇḍyan king with whom Kublai Khan had frequent contacts, commercial and otherwise, was the Great Kulāśekhara Pāṇḍya.

Marco Polo visited the Pāṇḍyan kingdom towards the close of the thirteenth century and Chinese sources agree in the statement that at that time, *i.e.*, about 1280 A.D. the province of Ma'bar was ruled by five royal brothers. This is to some extent supported by Wassaf, the Muhammadan historian. It is true that the brothers

ruled as independent princes in different parts of South India. But at the same time the fact remains that Māravarman Kulaśekhara, as he is called, was the sovereign monarch, superior to other contemporary princes. Says Wassaf, 'Kales Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years' (Elliot & Dowson, III, p. 52) Taking all these things into consideration, it is to be inferred that other princes enjoyed the status of viceroys in their respective territorial units. There is ample evidence to prove that he captured Kollam (Quilon) and even Malainadu. Kulaśekhara's accession may be roughly dated 1268 A.D., and if we believe Wassaf's testimony, he reigned upto 1308 and beyond.

This historical background will help us in examining the numerous embassies between China and India from 1279 to 1292 A.D. The chief source of information is *T'oung Pao*, XV, pp. 430-44 (W. W. Rockhill). We shall summarise briefly the information recorded therein. In 1279, there arrived from Ma'bar and Annam a mission which presented the emperor with a live elephant and a rhinoceros. This stimulated Kublai Khan to send a trusted lieutenant of his to further negotiate with the Pāṇḍyan king and induce him to accept him as his overlord and make him send an envoy in recognition of the fact. The envoy sent by the Chinese Emperor was Yang Ting-pi, then holding the office of Imperial Commissioner.

As luck would have it, a mission arrived at the court of China in 1280 from Ma'bar with a memorial from the Pāṇḍyan king, the latter styling himself 'your servant'. Valuable articles were presented as tribute. The leader of this delegation is named Jumaluddin. It was all the more pleasing to the Emperor who had despatched Yang Ting-pi to effect the very same purpose. It was a voluntary embassy sent by the Pāṇḍyan king long before the arrival of the special envoy of the Chinese emperor. The object of the memorial was a request to the emperor to lend the services of the Mongols against the local enemies who were harassing him day in and day out.

Yang Ting-pi's work was easy. The recognition of Kublai had already been effected. He returned to China. Soon he was ordered to proceed to Quilon and the adjacent countries with a view to invite them also to the Chinese court. The delegates of this mission went by their junk and landed at the port of Hsin-Tsun, identified with Kāveripaṭṭanam. They had a warm reception

given by the Minister of State helped by his secretary. Before they started for Quilon, a secret message was placed in the hands of the delegation. It is possibly the message of Kulasekhara to the Chinese Emperor accepting the rank of a feudal prince to the Chinese Empire and soliciting assistance against Suan-Tan evidently Sundara Pāṇḍya who had deprived him of all his wealth and even his wives. This confidential document was taken by one of the leading members of the delegation to China to appraise the emperor of the real state of affairs in Ma'bar. And Yang Ting-pi left for Quilon under further instructions.

At Quilon the imperial letter was presented to the authorities in 1282. The prominent leaders of the different communities—Christians, Muslims and others agreed in acceding to the request of the Chinese Emperor and promised annual presents to the court. A representative of them was also sent to have audience with the Emperor. The kingdom of Su-mu-ta followed suit. This is still left unidentified. Rokhill's suggestion that it may be Mangalore or near about is rather vague.

After a successful mission, Yang Ting-pi set his mind on the return journey in the same year 1282. He passed the kingdom of Na-wang which again is unidentified and then Sumatra whose ruler accepted allegiance to the Emperor. On his return Yang Ting-pi found the representatives of countries visited by him calling on the Emperor with their presents. He was the recipient of several royal honours. From this year the missions from South India and the islands of the Archipelago were more and more frequent. In 1283 and early in 1284 the king of Ma'bar sent a mission with presents which included pearls, rare jewels and light silks.

Kublai was a man of ambition. He wanted to collect as much precious products as possible. He wanted also strange birds and beasts. He was anxious to get magicians and physicians from other countries. So he continued now and then sending one mission after another. In 1285, we are told, he despatched an embassy once again to Ma'bar to procure rare and precious things as far as possible. In 1288, skilled physicians with drugs arrived at the court of China from Ma'bar. The largest mission that had ever arrived at the Chinese court was in 1286 when representatives of ten states visited the court. The representatives were generally the sons or younger brothers of the reigning king. Among these ten states were Ma'bar, Mangalore, Cranganore, Manifattan (port on the Coro-

mandal coast), and Nellore. All of them came with letters from the ruling princes and memorials. In fact the embassy from Ma'bar became annual. For the Chinese sources testify to a mission in 1288, 1289 and 1290. Zebras, oxen and buffalo were among other presents. The emperor's thirst for South Indians and their products grew more and more. He was enamoured of South Indians learned in sciences, interpreters of different languages, skilled workmen, soldiers and sailors and last but not the least jugglers. Imbued by such a passion, Kublai sent a mission in 1290 to search for these and bring them to the imperial court. A similar mission was sent also in the succeeding year. In 1296 again the Emperor sent yet another mission to Ma'bar and perhaps also in 1297. Proceeding further we hear of a mission from Ma'bar in 1314. Thirty years after in 1344, it is mentioned an envoy was despatched to Quilon.

According to the Ming Shi records quoted in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, Volume I, p. 211 (Kegan Paul, 1910) the last embassy that was sent from Vijayanagar was in 1374 by Buhalu of Bukka I. The Vijayanagar envoy whose name is mentioned as Bi-ni-si, still unidentified, started from Anegundi. From the records, it is seen that Bukka I sent his 'chief explainer' (Kiang-Chu) as the envoy, with tribute to the Emperor of China. No definite information is given regarding the purpose of the mission. Among other things, the envoy presented to the Emperor a stone which had the property of neutralising poison. (*Ind. Ant.* 1916. p. 140). We no more hear of official relations between China and Southern India but trade relations were kept up 'though of much less volume and value.'

Culture Contacts :

With the opening of trade and trade routes, the Buddhist missionaries of India were encouraged to make adventurous attempts to leave Indian shores and to spread their faith in distant lands. Central Asia and China welcomed these missionaries and began to adopt slowly their faith. In the first century A.D. we hear Dharmarakṣa and Kāśyapa Mātunga going to China, the establishment of the White Horse Monastery, and the enthusiasm of the elite of the Chinese capital in embracing the new religion.

The religion introduced in China was what is known as the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism as distinct from the Hīnayāna, which form

was more popular in South India and Ceylon. The Mahayana which is a later development of Buddhism in India became the dominant religion of China and continued to be so to the present day. It aimed at uplifting the whole of mankind to salvation. Monastic life was the chief institution of this form of religion. Soon China became studded with monasteries, wedded to the practice of dharma taught by the Buddha or the Light of World. A number of Mahayanistic classical sūtras were put down in writing in Chinese soil, based on Aśvaghōṣa and Nāgarjuna. When the movement gained momentum there was an urge on the part of the zealous Chinese missionaries to set out on pilgrimage to India and study the religion in the land of its birth. Some of these missionaries travelled all the way down to South India and Ceylon and were strongly impressed with the Hinayana form of Buddhism. But still the Mahayana dominated in China.

While this was the case in the early centuries of the Christian Era, the trade and political contacts of China with South India carried in its wake missionaries from South India to China and *vice-versa*. We have little or no records detailing the activities of religious missions in the early period. One thing is certain. With the spread of Indian civilisation in the Far East, which was the passage of South Indians to distant China by sea, the same civilisation spread gradually to China, especially to South China. The first definite land-mark in the history of South India's contribution to the Chinese Buddhism is set by the arrival of the South Indian monk Bodhidharma in the year 520 A.D. in China. As has been happily put*, the coming of Bodhidharma is significant from more than one point. Bodhidharma was the twenty-eighth patriarch in direct line from Śākyamuni Buddha. When he left India and settled in China, the centre of gravity was moved actually from India to China. Then China and not India, became the centre of Buddhism. So Bodhidharma has been called India's last patriarch and China's first patriarch. He has been regarded as the third son of an Indian king, probably King of Kanchi. He went to Indonesia where he was initiated into the Dhyāna School of Buddhism. He reached China by sea. He was accorded royal welcome by the Emperor Liang Wu in Nanking. The Chinese accounts have preserved the conversation

*K. L. Reichelt: *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism* (1927) pp. 45-6.

that took place between the Emperor and Bodhidharma. (See Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 108 ff.). The Emperor began by saying that since his accession to the throne, he was erecting temples, transcribing sacred books and encouraging new monks. The reply of Bodhidharma was that no merit was accumulated by such acts. For it was all shadow and no substance. Asked by the Emperor wherein consisted true merit, the patriarch replied that it consisted in purity and enlightenment, to be attained through practice of meditation and that as such could not be sought by worldly means. It may be remembered that Bodhidharma was simply voicing forth the pronounced views of the Great Nagarjuna. Soon the patriarch went to North China, then under the Wei rulers. In Song-Shan, in a monastery, he was leading a retired life.

As was wont with saints of his stamp, a number of miracles are attributed to him. Once he had to cross the Blue River when he plucked a reed which served him as a raft. Other miracles of an unhistorical character need not deter us. It is said that he appreciated the monastery of *Yong ning sse*, built in 516 at Loyang. Tradition credits him with 150 years of age.

What is important to us is his contribution to Chinese Buddhism. He was known as Ta-mo in Chinese and as Daruma in Japanese. His activity was not confined to China. It spread to Japan also. He established the Meditation School which lay special emphasis on the contemplative aspect of Mahayana, which Nagarjuna wrote, preached and taught. Bodhidharma had in Hui-si and Chi-kai two disciples who propagated the views of their master, though in a modified form. The Meditation School otherwise known as the Zen School, soon merged other schools of thought into itself and became a force in the religious life of China. The teaching of this school is happily put in the words of Ma-Tsu, a pupil of Bodhidharma. He said 'O! Monks, when you each believe that you yourself are the Buddha, your mind is no other than the Buddha's mind. The object of Bodhidharma who came from Southern India to this Middle Kingdom was to personally transmit and propagate the supreme law of one mind by which we are all to be awakened to the truth' (Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism and Studies*, p. 46). Bodhidharma himself became so much venerated that portraits representing him as a bearded person with twig on his shoulder from which hang one of his sandals are found commonly in both China and Japan. China knew of only six patriarchs.

The remaining five succeeded as master and pupil. Their images were installed in all big monasteries and their birthdays celebrated.

The next notable figure of South India who visited China was Bodhiruci. It is said that as early as when he was twelve years old, he left his parents and received instructions from a Brahmanical school. After specialising in the Brahmanical sciences, he took part in the public debates with students of other schools. It so happened that he had to meet one Buddhist scholar, Yaśaghoṣa by name. In the course of a discussion, he found in Yaśaghoṣa an erudite scholar, deeply versed in the subject. Attracted by his learning he embraced Buddhist faith and became his disciple. Thenceforward, he took to a close study of Buddhist books and soon became a renowned Buddhist teacher. In fact his name was so well known that a Chinese envoy who was at that time in the Chalukyan court (692 A.D.) invited Bodhiruci to go to China and aid the Chinese Buddhists. The invitation was readily accepted. He took the sea route and reached China in 693. Immediately he took to translating Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese. It was no easy task and in carrying it out, he was helped by a group of Chinese scholars. It is said that one group of scholars noted down the translation. Another group touched up the language and saw that it was done in proper literary style. A third group compared notes with the original and saw that the translation was a faithful rendering of the original. Thus helped by a band of scholars, Bodhiruci was able to produce a good literature for the satisfaction of the Chinese literati.

After twelve years of strenuous literary work, Bodhiruci called on the Emperor at his capital in 706. Here he made the monastery of Si-chong-fu as his residence. During his sojourn at the capital he took up another important work to be rendered into Chinese. This was the *Ratnakūṭa*. It was one of the works on Mahayana, dealing extensively with the tenets of the Mahayana. The original manuscript of the *Ratnakūṭa* was taken from India by the well-known Chinese pilgrim Hiuang-Tsang. It was the latter's ambition to translate it himself. But before he could proceed, he was snatched away by death. When Bodhiruci heard of this, he volunteered to do it and in seven years, i.e., by 713, he was able to finish the work. We are told by the Chinese biographer that the Emperor was so much interested in this great work of translation of the *Katnakūṭa* that he himself sat down and wrote notes with

his hand when the translation was done. We are led to believe that there was a regular court held when Bodhiruci was dictating the translation. The queen and others of the Emperor's harem, and the chief officials of the state were present on most days when the translation was going on. As it was one of the extensive and difficult works, Bodhiruci invoked also the assistance of Indian monks then in the court of China. Among them were one Isvara of Eastern India, one Dharma and another Prajñāgupta of South India. The total number of volumes rendered into the Chinese by Bodhiruci was fiftythree, surely more than a life's work of an ordinary individual. Then he retired and passed the evening of his life in contemplation or Dhyana. The biographer tells us that in 724 he went to Loyang along with the Emperor. Three years later he attained Nirvāṇa. In his last days he knew his end was approaching. Then he gave up eating and spent fifty-five days in fasting in an atmosphere of all peace and quiet. The biographer puts down his age as 156 at the time of his death. Whether we believe it or not, it is irrefutable that he lived a pretty long life.

About Prajñāgupta we know very little. All that we know is that he was a South Indian monk and a contemporary of Bodhiruci whom he assisted in the translation of the *Ratnakūṭa*.

We may also refer to one other monk who was not actually a South Indian by birth but was connected with the royal court of the Pallavas. This was Vijrabodhi, a son of Išānavarman of Central India (Bagchi *op. cit.*, p. 59). He prosecuted his studies at the University of Nalanda and spent some years at Kanchi in the court of Pallava king Narasiṃha Potavarman. Then he went to Ceylon where he joined a mission organised by the King of Ceylon to visit China. The object of this mission was to present the Chinese emperor with a copy of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra* and other records of value. It is said that Vijrabodhi arrived at Canton in 720 A.D. He won the regard and respect of Chinese monks and of Indian monks settled in China. One Indian monk Amoghavajra who belonged to a Brahman family settled in Ceylon volunteered to be his disciple. For seven years from 723 to 730 Vajrabodhi rendered translations in Chinese of Buddhist mystic works. These appealed both to the laymen and monks. He met with his death in 732 A.D. at Loyang.

We also hear of one Bodhisena, a South Indian Brahmin who

was an ardent admirer of the great Mañjuśrī, one of the famous Bodhisattvas, who was reported to be living in China. Bodhisena resolved to meet him and left for China. At Champa he was joined by Buttetsu who was equally interested in meeting Mañjuśrī. Both travelled together and reached China in 733. Having heard there that Mañjuśrī had gone to Japan, Bodhisena and his friend joined a Japanese embassy to Japan. It is said that Bodhisena who was much honoured in Japan was elected in 750 as Sojo, the Head of the entire Buddhist church in Japan.*

Though Indian monks were frequenting the Chinese capitals upto 1036, still among the names of prominent men, we search in vain for monks who went out from South India. People of Western India and Central India figure very much in the list. There are one or two from Ceylon. It was the period of the decline of the Pallavas and the rise of Cholas to power who were ardent patrons of the established religion of the land. It was also the period when Buddhism had completely disappeared from South Indian soil, possibly due to the propaganda carried out indiscriminately by the Saiva and Vaishnava saints for nearly five centuries. Another reason for the dearth of missionary enterprise may be the fact that China enthroned as it were the Mahayana form of Buddhism from beginning to end, and that the Hinayana never appealed to them. Last but not the least was the new spirit in China. In 845 A.D. the emperor Wu Tsung ordered that 4,600 convents and 40,000 religious buildings be pulled down in the empire. The monks and nuns were forced to take to secular life. From this date begins the decline of the Buddhist church in China. But the profound influence which was made on the people in general could not be cured by a fiat of the emperor. So there were laymen who still adhered to the broad views of the Mahayana church. To escape persecution at the hands of the state, various 'secret societies' and sects came into being. They still preserve many elements of Buddhism which have left an indelible mark in their minds and which have brought India and China in closer contact for more than ten centuries.

We have been examining all along the Indian missionaries who had been visiting China from time to time. It is a reasonable question now to ask whether there was a similar response on the

*See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices etc*, Introd., pp. 18-19.

part of China and whether any of her pilgrims came to India with a view to study Buddhism here. The answer is certainly in the affirmative. But still the fact remains that several of them confined their activities to North India and a few only passed southward. Even here an enthusiastic pilgrim Fa-Hien who travelled at the commencement of the fifth century A.D. did not visit the mainland of South India. From Tamluk he went straight to Ceylon and from there he took the sea route to China.

The next pilgrim of any importance from China to India was Hiuan-tsang. He travelled widely from the north to the South visiting places chiefly of Buddhist interest. He has left an interesting record of his travels in India. Though we cannot accept all his statements, still there is much material in them which could be used for historical purposes. His records leave one with the impression that he was not a bigoted Buddhist. As Waters puts it nicely "his creed was broad and his piety never became ascetic and he was by nature tolerant". Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (II, 204-60) contains an account of Hiuan-tsang's impressions of the places which he visited in South India such as Kāliṅga, Andhra, Chola, Drāviḍa, Pāṇḍya and Koṅkaṇa.

From Hiuan-tsang we gather information as to the erection of Sī Parvata Monastery referred to also by Fa-Hien. It is said that famous teacher and author Nagarjuna spent the last years of his life here. It finds mention in the Prakrit inscription from Nagarjunikonda (*Ep. Indica*, XX. pp. 9, 22). Hiuan-tsang refers to twenty different monasteries in the Andhradeśa. He also refers to about 100 deva-temples which means shrines devoted to Hindu faith. Reference is also made to the Monasteries Pūrvaśaila and Aparāśaila lying to the east and west of the capital city, at a hill. By Drāviḍa Hiuan-tsang seems to locate Kanchi where he testified to the existence of Hindu and Jain temples. The capital was reported to be the birth-place of Dharmapāla who became convert to the Buddhist faith and erected a monastery near the place of his residence. The Chinese pilgrim draws our attention to some Aśoka Topes here as well as in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

Though all this is of interest to students of South Indian history, yet we have to assess what was the contribution of Hiuan-tsang as a result of his visit to India to Chinese Buddhism. When he returned to China, he was welcomed by the emperor and the public with great eclat. During his travels in India Hiuan-tsang collected

a number of valuable manuscripts on Buddhism and took them to China on his return. He was himself a good Sanskrit scholar and was specially interested in Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda. He started in China a Vijñānavāda school and himself translated all the important works relating to Vijñāna. The chief doctrine of this school was that Vijñāna was the only reality. He also started another school known as Sarvāstivāda school of the lesser Vehicle. Thus Hiuan-tsang did substantial work for the progress of Chinese studies in Buddhism. The one great service Chinese Buddhism did was giving publicity to all the works of Nāgārjuna who founded what is known as the Mādhyamika system. All the works of Nāgārjuna are preserved in Chinese. But most valuable is the preservation of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra Śāstra* in Chinese translation, original of which is completely lost to us.

The next pilgrim who visited India and left itinerary notices of the different practices of Buddhism in the different places was Yi-tsing. But unfortunately he did not visit either South India or Ceylon. E. Chavannes records six pilgrims of Yi-tsing's days who visited South India and Ceylon. The first was Mingyuan who arrived in Ceylon and managed to steal the tooth of the Buddha. He was subsequently found out much to his shame. He also visited South India (*Religieur Eminents*, pp. 54-6). The second was Yi-lang who sailed for Ceylon and worshipped the tooth of the Buddha there. Nothing was heard of him afterwards. (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-9). The third was Ta-tcheng-ten (this is a translation of his Sanskrit name Mahāyānapradīpa) who also adored the foot of the Buddha in Ceylon and came to South India on his way to Tāmralipti (*op. cit.*, pp. 72). The fourth pilgrim was Tao-lin who went to South India and studied the system prevalent there (*op. cit.* 99-101). The fifth pilgrim Hiuan-yu is said to have embarked for Ceylon. He did not appear to have visited South India (*op. cit.* pp. 133). The sixth was Wu-hing. After visiting a number of places he finally came to Nāgapatana and after two days on the sea, he arrived in Ceylon and worshipped the tooth of the Buddha (*op. cit.* pp. 135-6).

There is evidence to show hundreds of pilgrims continued to visit India and also South India, I suppose, but there are no details either of the names of persons or the works done by them, which would be helpful to a historian. Therefore we must be content

by concluding that there were other pilgrims whose activities we are not able to trace in the absence of any reliable material. It is also legitimate to point out that with a sort of official crusade against Buddhism and Buddhists in China, Buddhism as a religious force began to decline from the ninth century onwards. But the actual downfall was to come much later. Kublai Khan patronised the Buddhist church. Wu Tsung (1308-12) a ruling prince did much to this church. From the time of his successor the downfall of the church became an established fact. But our consolation is that even to-day it is not dead.

The cultural relations were not merely confined to religion and religious intercourse. They were felt in other fields of activity as well. I shall now proceed to examine them.

Porcelain use in Music :

In the field of fine arts, especially in South Indian music, Chinese influence is markedly felt. Among the musical instruments of South India, *Jalatarāṅgam*, literally meaning 'water waves' is one. It consists of resonant porcelain cups, arranged in a semi-circle in front of the performer. It is capable of producing very high speed, Tremolo effects are produced by the two hands striking the same cup alternately. This is manipulated by a wooden sphere which is provided with a handle. The performer strikes at the outset the cup whose note is to be graced, dipping at the same time the wooden sphere into the water and lifting it up. This process is continued for a number of times. It is an artificial way of altering the water-level resulting in the requisite increase and decrease of pitch.

What we are concerned here is the use of the porcelain cups in this performance. *Jalatarāṅgam* is an ancient performance. Before the introduction of porcelain cups, metallic cups were used. After the introduction of porcelain in South India, the metallic pieces were replaced by porcelain cups. This is certainly due to the contact of China, which country alone specialised in porcelain. It is difficult to determine the date when porcelain replaced the metallic cups in South India (See P. Sambamurti: *Bulletin of the Madras Museum: South Indian Musical Instruments*). But best porcelain was produced in China between 960-1280 A.D. It is said that this art was perfected there in the tenth century, and was aided and improved by Indian workmen who came along with the

Buddhist priests (J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, London, 1926, pp. 504, 517). It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the use of porcelain in South India must be about 12th century and after.

Architecture

In architecture, South India seems to have influenced China to a considerable extent. Sulayman tells us that the walls of the Chinese buildings were of wood. At the same time he credits the people of Hind with a profound knowledge of stone, plaster, and bricks as the materials used in their buildings. From what Sulayman says we have to infer that the Chinese later on gave up their wooden structure and began to build solid ones after the South Indian fashion. It is further stated that the Chinese believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them and regard them as a people of religion. Both the people of China and Hind say that their idols speak to them.* This evidences the fact that the influence of South India was not confined only to the field of architecture but it extended to sculpture and the science of iconography in China. We have evidence of our workmen being requisitioned in large numbers for such services.

Science:

If Sulayman's authority could be trusted, China owed to India not only to her religion but also to a knowledge of science. Another Arab writer, Abu Zayd, seems to confirm the indebtedness of the Chinese to India for science. Abu Zayd relates the story of an Arab who went to China and had an interview with the Chinese Emperor. In the course of their conversation, the Emperor spoke of the King of Hind as the King of Elephants and added that the Chinese regard him as the King of Wisdom for the origin of science is from Hind. Though we are not in a position to identify this king who was probably a South Indian monarch, still it shows that China magnificently acknowledged what she owed to India and especially South India.

The recent revival in the cultural understanding between the two great peoples—Indians and Chinese, will, it is hoped, once more lead to frequent cultural contacts and bring back the two ancient nations much closer and make them mutually helpful.

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